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MR GLADSTONE AS I KNEW HIM

AND OTHER ESSAYS

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AND OTHER ESSAYS

BY

ROBERT BROWN, JUN., F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE GREAT DIONYSIAK MYTH,' 'THE UNICORN,' 'ERIDANUS, RIVER AND CONSTELLATION,' 'THE HEAVENLY DISPLAY OF ARATOS,' 'TELLIS AND KLEOBRIA,' 'SEMITIC INFLUENCE IN HELLENIC MYTHOLOGY,' 'RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS OF THE GREEKS, PHOENICIANS, AND BABYLONIANS,' ETC.

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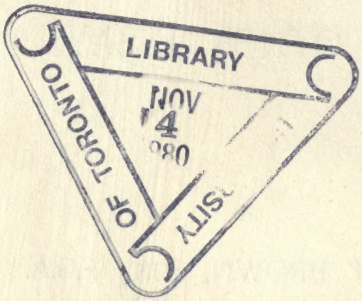

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MR GLADSTONE AS I KNEW HIM

AND OTHER ESSAYS

MR GLADSTONE AS I KNEW HIM.

I.

THE history of most of the principal nations of modern Europe is on the whole easy to understand. The process by which Russia, for instance, has grown from a petty state with Moscow as capital to its present gigantic size is simple enough; whilst the objects aimed at by the steady and uniform character of the Russian Government are by no means difficult to comprehend. The progress of Spain, the unification of her various kingdoms, the character and policy of Philip II. and his successors, and the inevitable results of that policy, may be clearly grasped by the most humble investigator. And the progress of France, the objects and policy of Louis XI., of Richelieu and Mazarin, of Louis XIV., of the Revolution, and of Napoleon, are almost equally lucid. The student of history can see their standpoints and understand their aims. The same remarks apply to several other European nations, but we meet with a singular

exception to this rule in the case of England, and in that of the Great Britain of modern times, so far as her foreign and colonial policy are concerned. The inhabitants of Great Britain, composed of various races, some still perfectly distinct, others merged and blended almost or wholly beyond recognition, differing profoundly from the Continent in language, religion, laws, habits, customs, manners, mental tone and standpoint, are a constant source of puzzlement, wonder, curiosity, admiration, and dislike to Europe. Our intense insularity makes it almost impossible for the ordinary Englishman to understand or to fairly appreciate his Continental neighbour. We do not indeed call the latter a 'foreign devil,' but the term 'foreigner,' as we use it, is almost as contemptuous. We are unable, as a rule, to comprehend in the least the cause of the wonder or of the dislike which the foreigner feels towards us. And yet has he not an excellent cause for most of his puzzlement? Take, for instance, the question of colonial empire. France and Germany now greatly desire to extend their colonial possessions. They are eager to seize and to annex. The slightest pretext frequently suffices for aggression. In either case, the Government and the great majority of the nation act cordially together in this policy, the reasons for which are perfectly simple. One of the principal of these reasons is that in the present century the contest for bread-and-butter will probably be waged on a scale and with an intensity hitherto unknown. This policy of France and Germany may perhaps be called an enlightened selfishness; and, at all events, anyone can understand it It is persistent and consistent. But when we turn to our own country and history, we are at once met by

the astonishing fact that a colonial empire, infinitely greater than that of France or Germany, has sprung almost entirely from private individual effort, generally ignored and frequently thwarted by the British Government. It is, practically speaking, only to-day that the British Government has begun to recognize the immense value and importance of many of the outlying portions of the empire. And how can we make the ordinary foreigner understand this? He knows full well the persistent and remorseless game of grab played by his own country, Russia, Germany, or France. He is acquainted with the false pretexts, the cynicism, the effrontery, which have habitually marked the extension of the sway of his own land. And when he casts his eye over the map of the world and sees that so much of the most desirable part of it has fallen to the share of Great Britain, he reasons by an analogy which seems to him unanswerable, and concludes that this mysterious island, so small but yet so potent, has exercised, but in a still greater degree, the various unamiable diplomatic qualities with which he is familiar at home. This is the real reason for that constant and most amusing ascription of Machiavelian depth and rare sagacity to the generally simple and frequently feeble and blundering policy of the British Government. Or take another instance, the relations between Britain and the Dutch element in South Africa. The folly of our general course of action there during nearly the whole of the last century has been almost phenomenal. But the variety of our moods has been still more remarkable. How could Mr Kruger and his gang of despotic oligarchs have imagined that the Britain of 1881, whose general attitude and policy are best expressed in the single word

'Majuba,' would have been transformed into the Britain of 1899, prepared, without a hesitation or a tremor, to pour out her blood like water, and her gold like the rays of the sun, in a contest with a power infinitely more formidable than that before which she had previously shrunk back, and one which might, moreover, have been assisted in some way or another by half Europe? These things defy sober and logical calculation. We may not see their strangeness, but everybody else does. And when we turn from our present to our past, similar great and perplexing problems confront us. What was the true character of that movement known as the Reformation in England? The 'plain man' has, of course, his answer ready, but the experts, who ply us with a constantly increasing mass of research and argument, if they achieve nought else, make us realize the difficulty and complexity of the problem. And as the history of England is so difficult to understand, so of course the protagonists who were chiefly instrumental in making that history must present similar difficulties. The almost superhuman perfection which modern writers, probably very justly, ascribe to Alfred, is a case in point. How came this god-like man to appear here in his troublous age? And, passing to a later period, what was the real character of Henry VIII.; of Elizabeth, of Thomas Cromwell, of Oliver Cromwell? To be sure the 'plain man' knows. He is aware that King Harry had six wives, and beheaded two of them, and therefore must have been a tyrant and a monster. A prominent Broad Churchman once confided to me that if there were any particularly hot spot in hell —a place the existence of which he did not admit— Providence had doubtless reserved it for Henry VIII.

But the careful investigator of a judicial turn of mind, who has, to a considerable extent, tackled the mountains of literature which on the whole have greatly obscured these famous personages, finds himself quite unable to arrive so easily at any definite conclusion. Freeman, in one of his latest utterances about Henry VIII., after referring to the king's personal supervision and efforts in the drawing up of the revised statutes of the Reformed Cathedral Church of Canterbury, at which Henry worked with all the zeal and ardour of an Anselm, confesses that he was yet very far from understanding the real character of the man. Is it, then, to be wondered at if in our own time, and in exact harmony with our past, we encounter prominent personages whose characters, acts, and general policy present similar problems and difficulties? Both the immediate past and the distant past are specially difficult to understand. The former is so close to our mental eye, the latter so far from it, that in neither case have we a full and fair vision. We can all comprehend Bismarck, his aims, aspirations, and general policy, very fairly. But when we turn to the two most prominent figures in the public life of England during the later part of the nineteenth century — Beaconsfield and Gladstone — then the difficulties which surround a true appreciation of the earlier English personages I have named, and of many others also, reappear with all their potency. That popular guide the 'plain man' is of course at no loss here any more than elsewhere. If he chance to be a bitter Radical, he is well aware that Lord Beaconsfield was a quack, charlatan, and impostor, with an intense and cynical contempt for human nature and an amazing power of playing on its weaker qualities;

that he was a consummate flatterer of the Throne or of the mob, as might suit his purpose of the moment; that his policy was but a mass of fireworks, tinsel, and bombast; that, being destitute of any real principle, he was practically and in truth an enemy of his country, whilst fond of posing as a patriot of the most exalted type. If our plain friend be a bitter Conservative, he knows that, beyond all question, Gladstone was one who in his political principles fairly boxed the compass; that from time to time he deserted and betrayed, as far as possible, everything he had ever supported, his single object being to retain office; and that finally, intoxicated by his own sophistries and verbosity, when power could only be purchased by the votes of the open enemies of his country, he flung his last scruples to the winds, and, joining with her foes in a mad attempt to wreck her liberties and constitution, succeeded only in destroying his own fame and power and the great political party which he had so long dominated. But is it thus, O sober-minded fellow-Englishmen, that you and I regard these two great dead men? Is it for this that we have raised the statue of the one and deposited the mortal remains of the other with all honour in our supreme temple of reconciliation and silence? The Delphians told Pausanias, the traveller, that the fiend Eurynomos eats the flesh from dead men's bones, and it is true—

> 'Eurynomos, the Universal-law—
> Sarkophagos, corruption's hideous tooth,
> Which fastens on these vestures of decay,'

may compel us to bury our dead out of our sight. But time, the healer and purifier, acts reversely to his

fell ally; and, gazing across the misty gulf of death, we can dimly see the majestic shades, with their spots effaced and their wrinkles smoothed away, whilst all that was really great and true and strenuous and god-like in them is ennobled and intensified into something unspeakably strange, and sweet, and splendid.

> 'These gliding years,
> That pluck our mortal beauty piece by piece,
> With silent, subtle, and remorseless hands,
> Add to the spirit every charm they strip
> From its poor vesture, which we prize so much:
> And, when their task is over, and the Soul,
> A harmony of splendour, stands complete
> In raiment worthy undecaying spheres,
> They gently lead her thither.'[1]

A peasant who has lived all his life on one side of a mighty mountain may know nothing of its many other aspects, stern or smiling, inaccessible or easy of ascent; and I am making no attempt to portray the character of Mr Gladstone as a whole, or to estimate his place and influence in history. I speak of him only as I knew him personally during a period of more than twenty years. In the year 1872 I published a small monograph upon the god Poseidôn. It was in some respects very crude and imperfect, but its central proposition, viz., 'Poseidôn in origin is not an Aryan but a Semitic divinity,' and one originally derived from the Euphrates Valley, is, I believe, perfectly correct. The little book was intended to illustrate, by a particular example, a principle which I afterwards expanded in my work *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology*, 1898,

[1] R. B., Jun., *Tellis and Kleobeia*, 1895, p. 84.

respecting which an eminent German critic recently wrote :—

'Into the midst of the battle of the three principal directions of Mythological Science in England, the author leads us with lively and often delightful humour. Max Müller has put together his thoughts concerning language, myth, and religion in the *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, 1897. The Arians had before their separation, a formulated belief in divinities, in which they embodied the great natural phenomena, namely, the Solar. Once more does Andrew Lang, his old adversary, fight him in his [Lang's] *Modern Mythology*, with the insufficient weapons of his known anthropological theory. Though Brown declares himself full of respect for the former and finishes off the latter with sharp humour, still he blames Müller for several weaknesses ; and, more especially, as a principal fault, for his disinclination to admit that so many Hellenic divinities and mythical stories can be explained by Semitic influence. Most certainly the powerful Semitic cult-centre on the Euphrates carried forward an influence more clearly seen year by year from new discoveries, not only on domestic life and knowledge, but also on the belief of Hellas. Brown recognizes Semitic extraction in a Greek divinity (1) If the name and its principal myths do not appear in the other Arian mythologies ; (2) if Arian nature-myths provide no simple and appropriate explanation of its existence ; (3) if its cult is found in territory either non-Arian or governed by non-Arian influence ; (4) when the form is more or less unanthropomorphic ; (5) when the character and history harmonize with the character and history of non-Arian divinities ; and (6) when Arian philology is not in a position to explain its name, and some or most of its principal features. Thus does he explain Kronos, Poseidôn, Dionysos, Aphrodite and Herakles as Semitic beings : but further, also Ino, Athamas = Tammuz, Kirke, Hekate, the Ilian Athene, the picture of the Under-world Nekyia, and the Greek constellations.'

Such was the position which I took up in *Poseidôn*

and have since maintained, and Mr Gladstone, who always kept a vigilant eye upon all Homeric literature, read the book with that serious and unprejudiced attention which was one of his many admirable characteristics. Having given the matter full consideration, he ended by completely accepting my standpoint, which he invariably subsequently maintained whenever he had occasion to refer to the question. Fifteen years later, at the conclusion of an article on the god in the *Nineteenth Century*, he wrote :—

'The Poseidôn of the later age is not the Poseidôn of Homer: but neither is the Achilles, the Odysseus, or the Helen. Then comes the Latin time, with its wilful dislocation and falsification of Homeric events and characters, and with that coarse and earthy mythology which built up an opaque medium between our vision and the wonderful creation of the Greeks. The true sense was almost as much hidden from us, as the sense of the Egyptian monuments, or the contents of the cuneiform inscriptions. It was needed, first to tear away the dense coating of the Latin tradition, then the degenerated presentation of the classical age. Gradually we learned the facts. From Döllinger, that he [Poseidôn] was a god of foreign and Asiatic original, distinct from the old water-gods of Greece. From Nägelsbach, that he was mostly the god and ruler of the sea, standing apart from it. From Buchholz, that the Sea is simply that province of the World-all over which he exercises sovereign authority. It would be easy to multiply references. But no one known to me has thrown so wide a flood of light upon the mysterious Poseidôn as our own countryman Mr Brown. His broad and comprehensive though brief survey touches Poseidôn at large, and all that is connected with Poseidôn. It does not dispense with, and it is, I think, sustained by, an examination, which cannot be too minute, of the Poseidôn of the Homeric text.'

And thus did Poseidôn introduce me to Mr Gladstone.

II.

There have been few men with a more healthy enjoyment of the honest pleasures of this life, physical and intellectual, than Mr Gladstone. A phase of intellectual pleasure often peculiarly grateful to a keen intellect is the power of defining and dividing. A great judge doubtless feels a special enjoyment in drawing distinctions, subtle yet admirable, between different cases; and Bacon has told us that the confounding together of things which in their nature are different, is a mother of all error. Mr Gladstone's lifelong devotion to Homeric study will ever be a prominent feature in his intellectual career; and though there are of course many and obvious reasons why any superior man should like Homer, yet it always appeared to me that, in addition to these, the subtlety and complexity of the Homeric problem made it specially attractive to Mr Gladstone. To the plain man, no doubt, the question is simple enough. He is aware that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the work of a single man, or of two persons, or of many; that these poems have always remained much as they were at the first, or have been greatly altered and artificially harmonized; that the circumstances recorded in them are the baseless imaginings of a poet, or were actual historical events, or are the mirage-fancies of mythology skilfully localized. Whichever of these opinions, or of others, he may chance to hold on the matter, is to him obviously true. There is, as Sir Roger would say, much to be said on both sides, indeed on all sides; and the doubter or Eldonian type of Homeric student may

perchance sit holding no form of these divers creeds, but contemplating all. Yet when an election has been made, what joy to support it with subtle analysis and delicate distinction; to trace the one master mind, firm in the support of certain fixed religious, moral and political principles, and energizing with a superb strength throughout the sparkling windings of the godlike song. Here Mr Gladstone was thoroughly in his element. Take such a paper as his *On Epithets of Movement in Homer*.[1] He concludes an elaborate, though, he is careful to state, by no means an 'exhaustive,' examination of these, with the remark:—'As a whole, the inquiry has, I hope, its own utility in the great business of understanding the poet; but it acquires, I conceive, an additional interest from the light which it casts on the delicate, exact, and subtle organization of his mental faculties.'

These last three adjectives well apply to Mr Gladstone's own mind; and this delicate, exact, and subtle intelligence found a lifelong pleasure in reading its own characteristics into the Homeric poems. I do not venture to say that he was wrong in this. At a meeting held at Cambridge in November 1900, for promoting a Memorial of the late Henry Sidgwick, Prof. Maitland said of him:—'Sidgwick always gave us . . . . the complex truth, just as he saw it, with all those reservations and qualifications, exceptions, and distinctions which suggested themselves to a mind that was marvellously subtle.'

And on the same occasion the Vice-Chancellor observed that Sidgwick 'recognized that the plain

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, March 1879.

answer to a plain question, which is so dear to the man of common sense, is often partially and sometimes wholly false.'

These remarks would have also been very appropriate to a discussion upon Mr Gladstone; but speech and writing which abounds with reservations, qualifications, exceptions and distinctions, to the plain man, who, I fancy, is practically identical with the man of common sense, savours of sophistry and disingenuousness. Hence most of the frequent charges against Mr Gladstone on this head, and several clever skits and imitations of his style and mental adjustments and balancings.

Doubtless, Mr Gladstone at times, through amusing himself with some delicate thesis, ultimately dealt with what the lawyers would call a 'bare possibility,' as if it were indeed a three-quarters fact. Such an inquiry as, Did Dante visit Oxford? lends itself in his hands to treatment on the lines: Dante may have visited Oxford; he was a learned man, it was a learned place, hence a special affinity between them; there are many passages in his works which would be quite consistent with a visit to Oxford; there is nothing in his works or life to negative such a visit; he seems to have had a practical knowledge of the coast of Flanders, in all probability from personal inspection; if he got so far, what so likely as that he should cross the Channel? If he crossed to England, where, after Dover and London, would he be so likely to go as to Oxford? Lastly, are there not many passages in his writings in which we may trace a knowledge of and interest in English affairs; and, possibly, a certain influence derivable from that quarter, with which Oxford must probably be

credited? All this might quite conceivably tend to bewilder the plain man, who, after reading it, would perhaps add to his dogmas, Dante visited Oxford.

III.

In his earlier Homeric studies Mr Gladstone, who was always in many matters very conservative, strove to read into the poems an exact representation of certain high Christian doctrines. We are now so far removed from many of the opinions which prevailed upon such matters during the first fifty years of the last century, that it is perhaps difficult for us to realize them. There is indeed a Gospel in Homer. God is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles, and has revealed Himself in many ways. But the Homeric Gospel is not the Gospel of the New Testament, and Zeus, Apollôn, and Athênê form no Trinity. In his maturer Homeric investigations Mr Gladstone left behind these cruder notions; and an article such as *The Iris of Homer*,[1] a study elegant, acute, and most suggestive, well illustrates his changing standpoint in the matter. Nothing was more remarkable in Mr Gladstone than his perfect willingness, and indeed desire, to learn from anyone, whoever they might be, anything he thought they really knew and which was worth knowing. In such cases he never seemed to give a moment's consideration to points of rank and social difference, or to his own great intellectual superiority. Many men, and many critics, on taking up a book, ask, Who is the author? Where does he live? Who is his publisher? Is he in our set? and so on. Mr Gladstone only asked, What does he

[1] *Contemporary Review*, April 1878.

say? If he approved of a man and his opinions, the importance or obscurity of the latter had little or no effect on him. Nor did he ever in social intercourse, to my knowledge, display any of that trying condescension of which the great in rank, in intellect, or in position, frequently possess such an abundant stock. He met you on a plane of friendly equality, and yet always preserved a distinct and peculiar dignity, which at times rather suggested a touch of natural haughtiness, latent and perfectly restrained. When thoroughly convinced that he was wrong on any point, he at once yielded and reformed himself altogether. Thus, he told me that my monograph *Poseidôn* first showed him the insufficiency of his Homeric method, a circumstance which I mention to show how nobly free his mind was from false pride, and how consistently he pursued what he believed to be truth. Such literary candour I have hardly ever met with, except perhaps in Sir Geo. Cox.[1]

When Mr Gladstone had once fairly grasped the vast influence of the non-Aryan East on Hellas and on Homer, his great sagacity soon used this fresh torch to throw a new and most interesting light on the Homeric works and epoch. His later studies, *Homeric Synchronism*, 1876; the magazine articles, *The Greater Gods of Olympos*, 1887; *Landmarks of Homeric Study*, 1890, and others, show the vigour and success with which he applied this principle. Amongst the many admirable points that he made was the identification of the Kêteioi[2] with the (Eg.)

[1] Vide *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, 2nd edit. 1882, Preface.

[2] *Od.*, xi. 521. Mr Gladstone playfully said to me that he regarded the Hittites as, 'in a certain sense, *quoad* the Odyssey,' his 'own children.'

Kheta, (As.) Khatti, or Hittites. He had nothing of that shrinking from and dislike to new ideas and discoveries, which so constantly benumbs even able men in later middle age, and generally more or less paralyzes old age. An unflagging interest, a constant willingness to abandon the good for the better, an astonishing power of instant and intense concentration upon the matter immediately in hand, a very wide, indeed nearly catholic, range of study, preserved his mind almost in the freshness of youth. He would urge upon me change of subject, and to have many interests as a chief means of attaining this mental habit. Hearty physical exercise, too, he regarded as of vast importance ; and I have certainly always found a cricket match or a good game at lawn tennis assist the mind in the subsequent consideration of a nice question of law or of Babylonian astronomy. He said to me on one occasion : 'My mind is like a market-gardener's hand-cart, full every morning of fresh fruit and vegetables. Those undisposed of at night I empty out, and start with a fresh stock next day.' With what keen interest did he follow the triumphs of the spade in connexion with his favourite poet ; and with what delight he would have hailed the latest discoveries in Krete, by which my friend Mr Hogarth is, so to speak, bringing us 'within measurable distance' of Minôs, who 'appears in Homer as the greatest and most important of his archaic personages.'[1] To Mr Gladstone, Homer was an inexhaustible mine. He died in Homeric harness, if I may so say ; and on July 20, 1898, Mr Herbert Gladstone wrote me :—'I believe my father had completed a portion of his proposed book on the Olympian

[1] *Juventus Mundi*, p. 118.

Religion. I cannot at present tell you how far it had advanced. Nothing has been decided with regard to publication.'

It is much to be wished that this fragment may be submitted to some expert, and published with such an Introduction and Notes as may be desirable.

IV.

Continuing my researches into the non-Aryan element in the Hellenic Pantheon, in 1877 I published the first, and in 1878 the second, volume of *The Great Dionysiak Myth*. Philostratos had long ago told us that Dionŷsos was 'an Assyrian stranger.' Döllinger declares that he 'came from the distant East,' and Prof. Sayce that he 'came either from the Phoenicians or from the Hittites.' I held that he was Euphratean in origin; and Prof. Sayce, writing to me subsequently on the matter, said:—'I think that your Dionysos has now become part of our scientific heritage. You proved your view so completely that it is now accepted on all sides as a matter of course.'

This is perhaps rather too strongly put. Dr Blunderbore, the talented critic of the *Weakly Review*; Dr Bunglecrumpus, who is remarkable for never having discovered anything, and for invariably deriding any new find, and a few others, are still in opposition.[1]

[1] The reader will scarcely believe it, but it is an absolute fact that Dr Blunderbore, when commenting on a list of Babylonian planet names and their modern equivalents, given in my *Primitive Constellations*, and which read '*Dilbat* = *Venus*, *Lubat-gudibir* = *Jupiter*,' etc., actually charged me with *deriving* the name 'Jupiter' from *Gudibir*, and then, naturally enough, held me up to contempt for so doing.

Mr Gladstone read *The Great Dionysiak Myth* with his usual care, and writes :—

'*Mch.* 28, '77.

'My Dear Sir,—I thank you much for the gift of your new work on the Dionysiak Myth. No part of the Olympian mythology more requires careful elucidation or promises more richly to repay it. Homer throws less light on this deity perhaps than on any other. The matter to be gathered from him is chiefly in negations, and in fragments which can hardly be pieced together. I therefore hailed your title with delight, which was in no way diminished by my perusal of the opening portion of the work.'

On May 7, 1878, he writes, as frequently, that his studies had been unavoidably interrupted :—

'The truth is, that until the Eastern Question comes to a settlement, I am not master of more than a few shreds and patches of my time. Such of them as the recess at Easter has afforded me, I have employed in writing up an Homeric Primer which has long been overdue, and which I hope to send you in a few weeks. I am glad you like the *Iris*. . . . It is a small but a fair specimen of the mode of treating the Olympian system, which I am glad to think that you approve.'

Thus, even amid the constant storm and stress of political life, he ever turned for refreshment to those

> 'Immortal dreams which could beguile
> The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle.'

In April 1879 I had a long conversation with him on Homeric and other matters at the house he then occupied in Harley Street. I found him sitting at a plain writing-table in a small room which contained very little furniture. The fireplace tiles bore Homeric subjects, and a toy figure of Lord Beacons-

field, something like a clown, hung from the bell. Mr Gladstone asked me to sit down at the writing-table just opposite him; and fixing his brilliant eyes on me began at once:—'I never waste time. You know a good deal about Homer, and you may remember that in the tenth *Odyssey* he speaks of the poplars and willows of Persephonê. Now, he always has a definite meaning in what he says, but I don't understand the passage. Can you tell me anything about these poplars and willows?'

Fortunately I had studied the myth of the Grove of the Under-world, eastern and western, those trees at times bright and at times dark, the black and white poplars sacred to the solar Hêraklês, the Phoenician Harekhal ('the Traveller'), who visits the house of Hadês. The palms and cypresses of the East, and the shadowy shrubs which skirt the River of Death in the Euphratean Under-world,[1] become the poplars and willows of Persephoneia, whose rôle in the Homeric Under-world, as Mr Gladstone has himself noted, is based on that of the Sumero-Akkadian goddess Ninkigal ('Lady-of-the-Great-Place,' *i.e.*, Hadês). I remembered how, according to Stêsichoros and others—

> 'Hêlios, in his cup, had sailed away
> To the glad regions of departed day:
> No other guide, no prompter but his love
> To see his dear ones in the sacred grove.'[2]

I therefore began to speak on the subject, when suddenly the absurdity of appearing to teach such a man as Mr Gladstone struck me so forcibly that

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *Primitive Constellations*, ii. 38.
[2] R. B., Jun., *A Vision of Rhadamanthys*, pp. 8, 9.

I stopped in some slight confusion. I think he guessed what was passing in my mind, for he smiled and said, 'Go on, go on'; and when I had finished, said, 'In many points, you know, you are my guide and instructor.' His frank and simple kindliness, and his willingness to learn anything even from a humble and unknown person, impressed me very deeply.

Most people are aware that Mr Gladstone was a brilliant conversationalist. But more than this, he would at times talk to several people at once upon different subjects with such ease and dexterity that two or three widely different topics flowed harmoniously on, no more clashing with each other than the balls which a juggler throws into the air. I remember a particularly pleasant breakfast party in July 1879, in which Mr Gladstone thus conversed with the lady on his right upon the dexterity with which Dryden, in *The Hind and the Panther*, presents the position of the Latin Church in its least offensive form to the English public; and upon the question whether and how far the Greek Church had ever acknowledged the precedence of the Latin Church. With me on his left the while, he discussed the long list of sea-nymphs in *Iliad* xviii., with very suggestive remarks upon Homer's reasons for introducing strings of names; whilst with Lord Odo Russell, afterwards Lord Ampthill, who sat opposite him, he chatted about various things which had recently been said of him at Rome by the Pope and others.

At the General Election of April 1880 Mr Gladstone was returned to power. A Liberal headed the poll for North Lincolnshire, where there had been no contest for many years. On April 13 Mr Gladstone

wrote to me:—'I congratulate you heartily on your victory, one of the most remarkable among the many that have been achieved. Homeric studies, fascinating as they are, do not either with you or with me blunt the edge of public spirit.'

At this time the *Spectator* styled Mr Gladstone 'a Conservative Liberal,' which was a very fair description of him. His literary breakfast parties were very enjoyable. On May 12, 1881, I met Lord Blachford, Mr Herbert Spencer, and several other clever folks at 10 Downing Street, and Mr Gladstone was in particularly good form. Mrs Gladstone said to me, 'William never had even a headache during the Mid-Lothian business.' We discussed the Froude-Carlile 'Reminiscences,' and the question, How much of a great man should be given to the public? Opinions differed considerably. I was in favour of the 'warts and all' principle, and I think Mr Gladstone, on the whole, agreed with this. He spoke very nobly and kindly on Carlile's supposed shortcomings; but Mr Spencer was severe on the Sage of Chelsea and his egoism, and said he had ceased to visit him for some time. I asked Mr Spencer how it was that some people can always remember figures, dates, etc. He recognized the fact, but said he was quite unable to explain it. We discussed, Is it more trying to be beaten at games of chance or of skill? Something occasioned a reference to Shakspere, and one of the party observed that 'Very likely Shakspere was a committee, but you don't like him less because you know nothing about him.' 'Yes, I do,' said Mr Gladstone; 'I want to know about him. Dr Johnson has such a hold on the public because we know all about him.' He defined Boswell as 'the adjective

of the human race.' 'But,' he continued, 'it will be difficult to give a good portrait of Carlile, and of another who has recently——'[1] 'Ah!' exclaimed everybody. 'This,' continued Mr Gladstone, producing a coloured photograph of Lord Beaconsfield, 'is our last present. He must not be judged from public life alone. I ought to know the face: I have sat opposite him long enough, but I have only seen him once [in private life] this last four years at a five o'clock tea at Lady Derby's.' He added that he had noticed at bookstalls, which he much frequented, the great fall in price of *Endymion*. This novel was certainly a disappointment after *Lothair*.

Writing to me on April 9, 1883, apropos of my work *Eridanus, River and Constellation*, Mr Gladstone remarks:—'You will observe that there is usually some foundation for myth and legend.' Doubtless some people will be ready to exclaim, 'Of course there is.' But such persons may forget how often we have been assured in late years that savages and others *invented* this and that story. The more we examine, the more is the sphere of invention reduced. Man's ideas and beliefs are constantly borrowed; he likes to use the building material of his predecessors. Ephesos was a quarry for Constantinople, and Thornton Abbey mended our North Lindsay roads.

A few days later Mr Gladstone writes:—'The recognition that Homer supplies a very important link between East and West, is, I believe, the key to all fruitful Homeric investigation.'

And he urges me to continue Homeric study in this connexion. Later in this year, I published *The Myth of Kirkê*. As this work was specially ridiculed by

[1] Lord Beaconsfield died April 19, 1881.

Mr Andrew Lang, I felt sure I was advancing in the right direction. Mr Gladstone read it very carefully, and on November 8, 1883, wrote :—'I hail the doctrine that Kirké is Euphratean.'

Prof. Sayce wrote :—'Your comparison of the myth of Kirkê with that of the lovers of Istar is as self-convincing as your discovery that Athamas is Tammuz.'

V.

Amid the ever-increasing storminess of public life and political contests, Mr Gladstone clung tenaciously to his archaeological and Homeric researches. In 1881 I had published *The Unicorn: a Mythological Investigation*, and on February 14, 1885, only four days before Sir Stafford Northcote's vote of censure on the Egyptian policy of the Government, on which occasion their majority was but 14 in a house of 590, Mr Gladstone wrote me a long letter about the unicorn which surmounted 'the old cross of Edinburgh . . . as there is some idea of restoring the now vanished structure,' an arrangement which he subsequently carried out. Nor did his astonishing memory fail with advancing years. Thus, on several occasions, having met him after a considerable interval, he would say, 'When I last saw you, we discussed such and such a subject.' He followed with extreme interest the progress of what is called 'Assyriology,' a name, strictly speaking, as incorrect as 'Ritualism'; but when such terms have once become firmly established with the public, we cannot alter them. Iranian, Hittite, and Egyptian research keenly attracted him; as, indeed, did everything which in any way touched on the Bible. Thus cosmogonies and early traditions, as

connected with *Genesis*, or, again, studies, orthodox or otherwise, of the life and character of Christ, were amongst his special subjects. On one occasion he raised the very interesting question, which still awaits adequate investigation, of the influence of Euphratean thought upon the Iranians. That Euphratean ideas and artistic designs reappear in the group of Persian figures, the centre of which is formed by Mithra and the Bull, I have shown.[1]

On March 19, 1886, a week before Mr Chamberlain and Mr Trevelyan left the Government on account of the Irish question, Mr Gladstone wrote me, apropos of Chaldaean astronomy, which we had been discussing:—'Many thanks for your most interesting leaf, which, even while drowned in business, I could not resist reading. The passage from Diodoros is extremely valuable. One wonders how the tradition came down to him: from the East, I suppose, rather than through Greek channels.'

He had an admirable appreciation of the great archaeological and historical value of Pausanias, and once said to me, 'I value him almost next after Homer.' And, indeed, the *Itinerary*, properly regarded, and handled as such a writer as M. Victor Bérard[2] can handle it, is of almost unique interest in connexion with the study of pre-historic Greece and its relations with the East. If, however, we merely regard Pausanias as a kind of golden bough, on which we may hang a miscellaneous assortment of articles gathered from all times and places, we shall almost altogether lose his special value, and, at the same time, fail to see the wood for the trees.

[1] Vide *Primitive Constellations*, ii. 55–58.

[2] *De L'Origine des Cultes Arcadiens*, 1894.

In December 1886 Mr Gladstone, being then in a position of 'more freedom and less responsibility,' began to write his *Nineteenth Century* articles on some of the greater Olympian gods. He used to forward me his proof-sheets, and most good-naturedly and patiently discuss any suggestions or objections I might make. On December 27 he writes :—

'Poseidôn shall travel to you when I get the sheets. Meanwhile, please to remember he is the Poseidôn of Homer only. Neither age, sight, nor memory would, if I had all the leisure in the world, enable me to undertake wide research. But, as Homer is a weighty, separate, original witness in his own sphere, I think it a service if we get him into the box, though the results may have to be modified and controlled by wider investigations.'

He then enters into a discussion about Hermês, respecting whom we differed, Mr Gladstone regarding him as showing Phoenician and Egyptian influence, whilst I thought that he was in origin an Aryan Wind-god.[1] On January 10, 1887, he writes again at length about the supposed early invasion of Egypt by various Aryan tribes ; and, having found that he had misunderstood something I had said, continues :—

'I ask your pardon about Hermes. In *Juv. Mundi* I was arguing against those who wrongly argued for dual authorship from the functions of Hermes and Iris respectively in the two poems. Bishop Beveridge says, beautifully and truly, that our repentance needs to be repented of. So I find continually that my attempted corrections of old Homeric errors and superstitions need themselves to be corrected.'

I could not help thinking that if my correspondent had been almost any other of the thousand-and-one great men of the day, he would probably have written in

[1] Vide Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott.*

fairly polite language, no doubt, but to the effect: 'My good friend, you can entertain any opinion you like on any subject you think fit; but don't think that either I or anybody else is in the least likely to be in any way influenced by it.' But in Mr Gladstone there was an intense desire to get at the truth of things, which, combined with a fine old-fashioned courtesy, often made him utterly regardless of those social points and differences in which many excellent people live and move and have their being. He continues:—

'I venture to send you a sheet which may appear as part of *Prolegomena* when I am ready with my work on Olympian religion.[1] Its object is to define my relation to comparative mythology, with which I have no quarrel, though some comparative mythologists fall foul of me. . . . I admit most of these people still think Homer was an Asiatic Greek, and this idea is fatal (in my eyes) to all comprehension of him.'

On December 30, 1886, he writes at length on the supposed Aryan invasion of Egypt and on Hermês, incidentally mentioning that the day before, his mail-bag brought 'nine hundred other letters and postal arrivals.' In 1887 I published a translation of *Iliad* xvi. 1–252, which I had made some years previously in various metres, as an experiment. To do justice to Homer in a translation is, of course, impossible, but every careful rendering has its interest; and Mr Gladstone, who possessed great skill and taste in metrical versions, showed his usual kindly interest in any effort which, as he said, was 'conceived in a genuinely Homeric spirit.'

I have always contended that the Etruscans were a non-Aryan and non-Semitic race, and in 1889 pub-

[1] Vide *sup.* p. 22.

lished a paper entitled *The Etruscan Numerals*, in which I attempted the restoration of the Etruscan numeral forms from 1 to 100, and made an elaborate comparison between the Etruscan and the Akkadian, Kamacintzi, Arintzi, and Kottic numerals. Even this extremely specialistic subject had attraction for Mr Gladstone in his eightieth year, and he writes :—'Nourished by your letter, I have read your article with great interest. My knowledge of the Etruscans is too slight to warrant a judgment, but I have always suspected them of being Turanian.'

After going into the subject at some length, he continues :—'My more urgent pursuits have forbidden me to traverse the whole field of ancient learning, and I have believed I should best serve the common cause by fastening on the text of Homer and reading other things mainly with reference to it. Discovery and opinion for the last thirty or forty years have moved steadily, as I think, in the direction of my main ideas.'

In 1892, shortly after his last political victory, Mr Gladstone, with unabated interest in his old pursuits, gave every encouragement to the Oriental Congress which, in the September of that year, met in London. As President of the section for Archaic Greece and the East, he wrote an address which, read in his absence by Max Müller, demonstrated the remarkable degree in which he continued to follow the studies and discoveries of the time. On March 3, 1894, on account of his increasing physical infirmities, he resigned office, and, as of course, declined a peerage. But he continued his literary work, as far as possible, with all the ardour in spirit of the years long gone by ; and on September 22, 1896, writes :—'I thank you very much

for your letter on the name of Poseidôn [our old friend]. At some time, perhaps within the next year, if I live through it, I hope to produce my book on the Olympian Religion, and in it I shall have an opportunity of noticing this most interesting etymology. . . . Mr Evans, who has been with the British Association, tells me he has found a pre-Phoenician script in Crete.'

Thus, to the end, did he, amidst still higher and nobler themes, delight in those pure and subtle pleasures which ever accompany the intelligent consideration of the past.

VI.

At last the long day's work drew to an end. Gladstone's life had been cheered and brightened, not merely by the natural characteristics which I have noticed, or by great public triumphs, or by the consciousness of good work well done. It was illumined by a vivid faith that the great Power of the universe does all things well; and that—

> 'If love can bloom so fair and last so long,
> Shall we not trust it on our future quest,
> And deem the better can but bring the best?
> That lovely song must herald lovelier song?'[1]

It is the absence of this belief amongst so many of our prominent thinkers and writers of to-day which has cast such a sombre shadow over the world of mind at the close of the nineteenth century. Mr Edward Clodd may tell us, with a kind of satisfaction, that Grant Allen lived and died without hope and without God in the world. But such a mental

[1] R. B., Jun., *To Mr and Mrs Gladstone on their Golden Wedding.*

attitude is a poor business at best. It has lost the childlike confidence and the joyous zest of life which have so often marked the past. It contains no principle which can truly sweeten and glorify the present. It has rejected the hope and the light which centre on the future.

Various persons, both in the Anglican, Latin, and other religious bodies, have entertained, more or less strongly, the idea that Gladstone would die in the communion of what Archbishop Benson styled 'the modern Italian schism.' Such little knew the man. The muse of history will always smile at the Papacy. The idea of a long succession of popes, and of an immense celibate ecclesiastical organization, all purporting to be based upon Peter, who never was pope, and who was himself a married man, is perhaps the largest jest which the centuries have bequeathed us. An association which has, under conditions, assumed to itself infallibility, is necessarily unable to amend. Servile and mainly ignorant assemblies, styling themselves Councils, more or less general, may again, at any time, add to the faith such dogmas as the potential clique of the day may regard as desirable in the interests of the practical working of the machine. Such a body would have natural attractions for an ambitious priest, who having failed, after preaching Guy Fawkes sermons, to obtain a bishopric, turned elsewhere in pursuit of a red hat. Or again, vague claims of the *Securus judicat orbis terrarum* character, although historically baseless, might yet serve to attract an able and amiable visionary, destined to end his life as a cardinal outside the College. Or, again, various persons go to Rome, and are so impressed with what they see there—a huge church, a venerable old

man surrounded with special pomp—that, easily influenced and ignorant of history, they end by staying with Rome. Or, again, men called to face the chances after death, alarmed at their condition, and authoritatively offered a charm which, it is stated, will indubitably keep them safe on their new and unknown journey, frequently naturally grasp at it. So Mr Bunyan tells us, in his road-book, that one *Vain-hope*, a ferry-man, with his boat helped *Ignorance* over the river. But Gladstone was none of these. He died as he had lived, 'in the communion of the Church of England, and in humble faith and trust in God's mercy through Christ.' Heaven did not grant him the gloriously serene and painless ending of our matchless Laureate, 'the most beautiful death' which the great physician who watched by his side had ever seen. Some severe suffering was his. We understand but very dimly the reason of these differences. Rogers washes his hands in the flame as if it were cold water; Hooper agonizes. But all noble souls accept that which is laid upon them, and come through it victoriously. And that we do not grasp in its depth the purpose of the infinite God is, on deeper thought, a matter for calm but intense satisfaction.

> 'To me the greatest joy,
> The basis of all harmony, is this,—
> That, through the shocks and tossings of our life,
> We can discern the workings of a Power
> Making for good with infinite resolve
> And matchless steadfastness. It labours not
> As we would have it, because gods and men
> Are different; and, if it worked as we,
> And we could trace such working, we should know,
> To our immense confusion, that the course
> Of nature and of period was arranged

By some poor mind, another of ourselves,
Weakling to breed confusion and dismay,
As Phaëthôn in the chariot of the sun.
Therefore, that all the glittering web of life
Is something tangled, does not seem to reach
A lucid end, and weave its pattern plain;
But, like the garment of Pênelopê,
Begins anew, and puzzles us who wait
At threshold of the gods, dismays me not.
For, if Zeus reign, as reigns he, then I know
That Dinos, whom some vaunt of, cannot be,
Save as the phantom of a feeble brain,
And shadow of a shade.'[1]

So, very early on the morning of Ascension Day, May 19, 1898, the soul of William Ewart Gladstone crossed the bar and passed into waters of comfort. He had enjoyed most of the things which this world can give. He had taken a hopeful view of life, of his country's progress and future, of the destiny of man in the ages to come. From time to time he had bravely borne defeat and disappointment, but his life, on the whole, was a very happy one. Lord Herschel once said to me, 'Mr Gladstone is sometimes very angry, but he never worries.' I look back on his memory with affectionate respect. That he made mistakes goes without saying. What human being in more than sixty years of public life could have avoided so doing? We read about people of almost flawless character and conduct, such as Epaminondas, 'the perfect soul,' or our own Alfred. But no such fierce light beats upon these distant figures as strikes, with its keenly searching rays, the modern statesman. And it is sweet to think that when life was closing in pain, and perhaps in some natural political disappointment, the soul gazed with hope and confidence towards

[1] R. B., Jun., *Tellis and Kleobeia*, pp. 12, 13.

the veiled Beyond; believing, as Ruskin puts it, that 'the order, "sell that thou hast," is not given without the promise, "thou shalt have treasure in heaven"'; [1] and that the great Lord of the Vineyard has even for the humblest of His servants a radiant overpayment of delight. This is the feeling of that ancient hymn, familiar in its modern English dress, and which Mr Gladstone so successfully rendered into Latin. The last verse runs :—

'Persistantem, perluctantem
Certus est beare?
R. Vates quisque, Martyr, Virgo,
Angelus, testare.'

[1] *The Queen of the Air*, p. 66.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1900, AND AFTER.

I.

The result of the General Election of 1900 was a foregone conclusion. This was clearly perceived and expressed by Mr Herbert Gladstone at an early period of the contest. From the first the only practical question was, What will be the amount of the Government majority? It might easily have been somewhat less than the actual result, say 100 instead of 132. It might very possibly have been rather more, for the Conservatives threw away a seat at Northampton, Reading, and Hastings. But between 100 and 140 it was almost bound to be. 'Probability is the guide of life,' says Bishop Butler. Yet it is not always easy for men to distinguish between real and apparent probability. Some devotees of the pendulum theory of politics argued that, because on several previous occasions the constituencies had gone tick-tack, therefore the same thing would happen in 1900. 'The Blues have had their turn, let the Yallers have an innings.' This is a good instance of a species of apparent probability. In order to be able to form an opinion of any value respecting the result of a general election, a man

must possess a considerable knowledge of the constituencies from the inside; and such knowledge must include something at least of their past histories. If a cool-headed and unprejudiced observer, possessing this kind of information, had been inclined to entertain any doubts on the result of the late general election, a glance at his paper on the morning of Monday, October 7, 1900, must at once have dispersed them. It is natural enough that Canterbury and Windsor, as representatives of Church and State, old style, should return Conservatives; or that Liverpool, as detesting the Roman Catholic Irish, should go heavily Conservative. But what did party managers think of a Unionist walk-over at Cambridge, where every previous election within living memory has been contested? And what chance had a party that would not fight at Cheltenham, Darlington, Dover, Grimsby, Hereford, Hythe, Oxford, Rochester, Wakefield, or Worcester? The boroughs of England must have made up their minds very distinctly when the Radical war-drum was silent in these scenes of former struggles. Two other instances in the returns of Sept. 29 must have been even still more eloquent to the old electioneering hand. Norwich, the capital of the East, and York, still in dignity the capital of the North, each returned two Conservatives unopposed. The result of a York election has ere this decided a Ministry to resign; and any well-informed Radical on scanning his newspaper of October 7, must have seen at a glance that with his party the contest was not for victory, but for existence.

These extraordinary electioneering facts have perhaps scarcely received the attention to which they are fairly entitled. They are the outcome of political

principles neither of to-day nor of yesterday. And, if we would grasp their real significance, we must refer, to some extent, to the entire course of the century which has just passed away. The first third of the nineteenth century was a period of the most melancholy and sombre tone. We of to-day have forgotten its poverty, its stagnation, its thousand ills; the crushing taxation, the immense debt, the absurd disregard of a sound political economy, the disaffection of the ruled to the rulers, the ridiculous political misrepresentation, the universal corruption, the public profligacy and immorality, particularly of those in high places, the brutality of manners, the ferocious criminal code, which nevertheless was unable to cope with crime, the almost absolute neglect of education,—these and a thousand other evils of the time are now hidden from our eyes. They are wrapped in a splendid mantle, on which is embroidered in letters which flash down the years with a light like that of the inscriptions on the fabled talismanic sabres of the Orient, such words as 'Trafalgar' and 'Waterloo.' One of the worst effects of the French Revolution was that it postponed reform in England for nearly half a century. But every crumbling and outworn edifice must fall at last, and so even the Georgian régime, although supported, in all honesty, by the sword of a Wellington, came to an end; and the good old Duke himself lived to see that the Government of the great Queen could easily be carried on, and that her throne rested on a basis infinitely firmer than that of the tottering monarchy of George IV. Thus, in 1832 sprang into existence the Liberal Party; and its career, despite that amount of error, of imperfection, which will ever cling around the highest human efforts,

has been a truly noble one. The chief triumphs of Liberalism require no mention here. Its effect, with, I freely admit, considerable assistance from time to time from Conservatism, has been simply to transform our country, and for the better. The England of the Queen's Jubilee was vastly further removed from the England of 1832 than was the latter from the England of Judge Jefferies and Colonel Kirk. But a year before this Jubilee a most strange and disastrous event had happened. The great Liberal Party, so strong, so active, so beneficent, the party of Grey and Russell, of Palmerston and Bright, and, for long years, of Gladstone, had ceased to be. It perished, not in the country, but, like Caesar, in the Senate House. It fell, not through the strength of its enemies, but through its own mistakes. The Liberal Parliamentary Party died in 1886. There are some incidents so great and so immediately before us, that we are often unable to recognize them. They are like print held close to the eye; we cannot read it. To state this fact respecting the Liberal Party, although it is the greatest political occurrence of our time, is to provoke a fierce shout of denial. An existing body may call itself the Holy Roman Empire, although it is neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. On many a platform during the last few years have Radical speakers claimed for their party the great achievements of the Liberals between 1832 and 1886. This claim is absolutely baseless. The Radicals—I am not speaking of certain politicians in the earlier Victorian period who were so called, but of the Radicals as they now exist—since 1886 have done absolutely nothing save plough the sands. Sir William Harcourt, whom circumstance has thrown

amongst them, and who has an honest hatred of Ritualism, but whose principles, with this exception, I do not profess to understand, has indeed succeeded in heavily fining the propertied classes. Most of them were against him, and they have had to pay accordingly; and his severity has been ably seconded by the harshness of the Inland Revenue, who have evidently much degenerated in tone since the days of Matthew and Zacchaeus. But whether Sir William's efforts have been of any practical benefit to the working man (*i.e.*, one who is paid by the week) is exceedingly doubtful. A Radical may very possibly observe, 'Well, but during the greater part of the time since 1886 the country wouldn't let me try what I could do.' Quite so. But why was this? Now, whatever were our shortcomings in the latter part of the nineteenth century, in one thing at least we had vastly improved, *i.e.*, in the writing of history. It was no longer considered necessary to regard history as a fable agreed upon. Men, with infinite industry, searched out the actual facts; and I do not doubt that the Parliamentary extinction of the Liberal Party in 1886 will be treated of by the philosophical historians of the future with all the importance which so great an event deserves, and will ultimately be regarded as an historical commonplace. First in the unopposed returns of Sept. 29, 1900, stands the City of London, the leading constituency of the realm, and long a stronghold of Liberalism. What makes the City return two Conservatives without a contest? This question, the enquiry, What is the cause and true inwardness of the results of the General Elections of 1895 and 1900? may well be approached by another, What is the difference between a Liberal and a

Radical? Why is it that between 1832 and 1886 the Liberals were very generally victorious, whilst from 1886 the Radicals have been uniformly defeated, and that by huge majorities?

II.

The election of 1895 was an expression of the determination of England not to be put under the feet of Irish Nationalists. The English, as a nation, are generally very slow to move, in many respects distinctly dull of comprehension, extremely patient, and great lovers of fair play, the contrary to which they designate by the special epithet 'un-English.' This last characteristic is ill appreciated and much misunderstood by the rest of the world. Most people, whatever their nationality, would prefer to win by fair means. But the principle almost invariably adopted by nations is, Win by fair means if you can, but win. In 1895 the slowgoing, average Englishman had come to understand that Home Rule—by which I mean the scheme of 1893 or any similar scheme—was at once an insult and a danger to him. He therefore emphatically rejected it, and dismissed the Radical Government with an absolute vote of want of confidence. Lord Salisbury came in with a free hand and a clean slate, and with both Houses of Parliament, so to speak, in his pocket, a position of power to which it has always been impossible for any Liberal leader, however great, to attain. Much, very much, might have been reasonably expected from his Government. What an opportunity for the master of many legions to have settled this or that thorny question! But, on the

whole, the five years' record of the Salisbury Government from 1895 to 1900, considering the undoubted ability of many of its members and the great numerical superiority of its followers, was to many persons distinctly disappointing. The country vaguely felt this impression, and, from time to time, showed its opinion in the bye-elections. Doubtless the Government had to contend with some special difficulties. What, for instance, could have been more embarrassing than the stupendous folly of the Jamieson Raid? But, after all, difficulties are the test of ability. The able pilot is he who weathers the storm. Then came the South African War, the commencement of which found the Government, to a great extent, unprepared for a struggle of such severity. Lord Salisbury stated that he had not been able to see through a brick wall. But although we may be unable to see through brick walls, yet there are various means of ascertaining what is on the other side of them; and on this most important occasion the Government and their advisers admittedly quite miscalculated the amount of force necessary, the character of the contest, and the probable conduct of the South African Dutch, which latter item they might well have known from history.

If there is anyone who still sincerely believes that a Machiavelian triumvirate, consisting of Salisbury, Chamberlain, and Milner, conceived the design of forcing Messrs Kruger and Steyn into war for the purpose of annexing the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, he must be left to his delusion; for he is beyond the logic of facts and the force of argument. The conduct of Mr Kruger, fatuous as it proved, exhibiting a cunning supremely devoid of wisdom, has

been mainly occasioned by our own previous folly. During the whole of our career in South Africa we have shown a persistent unwisdom almost incredible. Mr Kruger has also, no doubt, been misled, not merely by his own obtuseness, but also by certain European Iagos, whose reasoning ran—

> 'Now, whether he kill Cassio,
> Or Cassio him, or each do kill the other,
> Every way makes my gain.'

Some hold the ex-President to be 'a good man,' whatever that may mean. I am unable to decide such a question, and practically it does not matter. If to quote Scripture be necessarily a proof of goodness, then we shall perhaps find ourselves engaged in an attempt to whitewash the Prince of Darkness. But let it be granted that Mr Kruger is a good man. Then I recall an observation made to me by Sir Edward Reed, 'I am not afraid of bad men, nor of the worst that they can do; but the conduct of good men often fills me with positive terror.' The misery wrought by that wicked (or good) old man is almost beyond thought.

As the year 1900 advanced, it was evident to any keen observer that a General Election was in the air. Some supporters of the Government wished to have it at a moment when the heroism of Mafeking had excited many into an enthusiasm which in numerous instances exceeded the bounds of decorum. An election held then would indeed have been a khaki election. I do not say that the Government might not have been justified in dissolving Parliament on Mafeking. It would not have suited the Opposition; but when the dissolution really came, it did not suit them.

They complained that they were taken at a disadvantage. How childish! As if a general were expected to attack the enemy at the moment most suitable to the latter's convenience! But, on the whole circumstances of the time, had the Opposition no case with which to go to the country? Speaking at the City Liberal Club on July 17, 1901, Lord Rosebery said :—

'You may say, after all, the General Election proves nothing. The Liberal Party, I suppose, had no opportunity; they had no chance of winning; the Government is so infallible, the Government is so impeccable, the Government has committed no mistakes, there was no room for attack. Oh, my heavens! . . . I do not believe there is any impartial observer who can remember any Government which, with a large majority or a small majority, has crowded such a frightful assembly of errors, of weaknesses, and of wholesale blunders into its history as this Government has committed.'

These excited words, involving a grave exaggeration of fact, are hardly worthy of one who has been Prime Minister, and who would probably accept the position again to-morrow were it pressed upon him by a sufficient following. But, after making all due abatements, there is a certain residuum of truth in the charge; and had there been amongst the Opposition a Disraeli or a Gladstone to wield the weapons which the time supplied, their effect upon the position of the Government might have been formidable. As it was, the Opposition made hardly any use whatever of their chances. They had previously done all they could to practically put themselves out of Court and to disgust the country by closely fraternizing with the Irish Nationalists, who howled with joy to hear of British killed and wounded and sulked sullenly when they heard of the valour of Irishmen in the field. Was it

likely that Britain, as she clasped her bleeding children to her breast, however magnanimous she may be, would forget all this? But, even worse and more fatal than this, the Opposition allowed themselves to be wagged, to a great extent, by their own tail, by those prophets, teachers of lies, who so frequently have their own personal reasons for hating their own country, or the upper classes, or what is called Society, out of which perchance some of them may have been kicked. So far as I am aware, foreign nations are unanimous in favour of their respective countries. 'My country, right or wrong,' is the general watch-word of the world. But England, amongst other peculiarities, has from a remote period produced a small band whose battle-cry is, 'My country is always wrong.' No wonder that the intelligent foreigner is grievously perplexed. What Frenchman would attack La France, what Russian Holy Russia? It is quite true that the great majority of the Opposition took no share in the action of these tailmen. But, on the other hand, they did not distinctly repudiate it. They lay low and watched what would happen. However, the constant stream of vituperation, calumny, and misrepresentation which was poured upon Britain alike by the tailmen at home and by a large portion of the European press, for reasons perfectly understood by those who know, has at length, to a considerable extent, aroused the indignation of the British people. This factor made itself felt in the ballot-box. We are told by Mr Morley that contemporary foreign opinion is to be accepted as correct.[1] Again, in late years the supporters of the Radical Party have relied greatly on the weapon of personal

[1] Would he have accepted it in the case of Cromwell?

attack. I once observed at a public meeting that if the angel Gabriel had been a Unionist candidate, some Radical opponent would ere long have discovered that his record was anything but creditable. It being a common baser phase of human nature greedily to believe evil of another, this hitting below the belt has at times been very successful. So serious did it become, that special legislation has had to be provided to check the evil.[1] Its day, however, is passing. Some mud indeed still sticks, but the greater part is innocuous, or, not unfrequently, injurious to the thrower.

> 'As if a man should spit against the wind,
> The filth returns in's face.'

III.

Mention of mud-throwing naturally reminds us of the figure at which the greatest quantity of mud has been flung during the last fifteen years. To any impartial observer Mr Chamberlain was the hero of the contest of October 1900. Issuing from his great central stronghold, where he holds the eight seats in the hollow of his hand, the hardy and tireless knight struck doughty blows east and west, south and north. A ring of faithful boroughs—Dudley, West Bromwich, Kidderminster, Coventry, Warwick, Worcester —surrounded him; and although Mr Gedge was defeated at Walsall by a strong candidate and former member, his failure was due, not to the strength of the Radical vote, but to the hostility of the extreme

[1] Stat. 58 and 59 Vict. cap. 40. 'The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act, 1895.'

High Church party. Then, dashing northward, by a supreme effort Mr Chamberlain hurled Mr Runciman from his seat at Oldham, and gave victory to Mr Winston Churchill. Mr Chamberlain's lynx eye, tireless energy, admirable lucidity, and unfailing power of piercing the weak point in the harness of an opponent, make him a terrible antagonist. These things, however, are too well known to call for remark. But what I wish to point out is that, not content with being battered and pierced by Mr Chamberlain, the Opposition for years past have persisted in injuring themselves by tumbling over him in the most clumsy manner. The dullest person in the realm who has any decent amount of political information is perfectly aware that the venomous rancour habitually shown towards Mr Chamberlain arises, not from anything which he has either done or not done in South Africa, but because he was one of the chief causes of the failure of the Home Rule scheme. His opponents do not come into court with clean hands. And when, whilst they have nothing to say against the wretched tyranny and the gross corruption of the rule of Mr Kruger, they endeavour to put the Colonial Secretary's whole public and private life under the microscope, and simulate fits of pious horror on the discovery, after laborious efforts, that he holds a few shares in a Company which was in some way slightly connected with a Company which at times was in some way connected with the Government, their hatred blinds them to all sense of inconsistency, of perspective, and of the ridiculous, and makes them the derision of the man in the street. The spectacle of Mr Philip Stanhope, who has distinguished himself by the virulence of his

onslaught, after being defeated at Burnley, where it was vainly supposed that the so-called Socialist vote would have made him impregnable, writing letters to Mr Chamberlain from the obscurity of private life, and imploring the Colonial Secretary, with tears in his eyes, so to speak, to bring an action against him, was, to a bystander, one of the most diverting incidents which even a general election could produce. But why, in the name of all sound tactics, should the Radicals have advertised Mr Chamberlain to this enormous extent? The endless stream of abuse bestowed on him has produced a similar effect to the praises received by Aristidês. Thousands who thought little about him one way or another, have rallied round him and become his political friends and supporters. Who is this man whom rude persons have met with cries of 'Judas'? Let it be granted, for the sake of argument, that he has changed some of his opinions. Was Mr Gladstone, asks the man in the street, always a Radical? A man may be Judas, and yet not Iscariot; and one thing which Mr Chamberlain's opponents have taken care of is, that he shall not be Jude the Obscure. His own abilities and the efforts of his ill-wishers have made him the foremost and most influential Colonial Secretary we have ever had; and he may perhaps be sometimes tempted to exclaim, with a smile, 'I would my name were not so terrible to the enemy as it is.' 'Father,' said a little boy, 'there is the moon.' 'Never mind,' said his father, 'let it alone.' And it will really be much better for Mr Chamberlain's opponents if they will let him alone as severely as possible; or, if they have to speak to him or of him, will use the courtesy customary from one gentleman to another.

IV.

Perhaps the most weighty circumstance of the General Election of 1900 was the return by the Metropolis of 52 Conservatives and 1 Liberal Unionist, out of a total of 61 members. In the history of England we notice that for many centuries the side which London has taken strongly has always won. If a Liberal Party of the future is to regain power, as distinguished from office, it will have to capture very many metropolitan seats. A Parliament sitting at Westminster must necessarily be always most powerfully influenced by the views of the 6,000,000 persons who live immediately around it. A Party containing only eight London members is within measurable distance of being a negligible quantity. And even as regards this poor residuum, there were some very unsatisfactory circumstances. Thus, although the member for Battersea succeeded in defeating his Conservative opponent Mr Garton by 254 votes, yet we read, in the account of the contest, that Mr Garton was not allowed to utter a word on his own behalf, that his friends, including a very distinguished politician, were similarly treated, that his meetings were habitually broken up, and he himself made the constant subject of slander and calumny; and in fact that in Battersea generally something like a semi-reign of terror prevailed during the election. When the result was announced 'Mr Burns . . . led the cheers in his own honour.'[1] I observe that in the account of the members of the new House of Commons, Mr Burns is described as a 'Socialist.'

[1] *Standard*, Oct. 3, 1900.

In all honesty I do not know what that is; but I presume that one feature of its creed is the violent suppression of every contrary opinion. Such was the result of a night with Burns. I was discussing the matter a few days after with one of the stokers of a steamer, and on asking him what he thought about it, and whether, under such circumstances, he would have led the cheering in his own honour, he replied, 'Led the cheerin'! I should 'ave 'id my 'ed in a 'ole.' On the whole, however, the election throughout the country was fought very fairly, and was accompanied with very little violence. In the Camborne Division of Cornwall, where Mr Caine, who we read 'took an active part in opposing the Home Rule Bill in 1886, but now (1900) ranks as a Gladstonian Liberal,' won the seat from his Liberal Unionist opponent by 108, there was considerable rowdyism and violence. But this sort of thing is getting much rarer; and being frequently distinctly bad tactically, is not favoured by astute party agents. In the future it will probably be left to Socialists and similar enemies of oppression and abuses. As the contest proceeded, the great towns went astonishingly for the Government. Manchester (including Salford) by 8 out of 9, Sheffield by 4 out of 5, Leeds by 3 out of 5, Bradford (3) wholly, Bristol by 3 out of 4, Hull and Nottingham by 2 out of 3, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sunderland, Blackburn, Bath, Portsmouth, Southampton, and Plymouth (2 each) wholly. As of course, Preston and Brighton each returned two Conservatives. Of Norwich and York I have spoken. As regards Opposition victories, the boroughs gained by the Opposition in England were Camberwell North, where Metropolitan educational questions appear to

have told against the Conservative candidate ; Derby (2), always very strongly Liberal, and which reverted as nearly as it could to its old faith—one of the new members, moreover, Mr Bell, being returned by the railwaymen's vote, as what is called 'a Labour Member,' and for definite purposes somewhat apart from general politics ; Gloucester, where the anti-vaccination craze rules matters to a considerable extent ; Grantham, a small constituency which anon goes one way and anon the other, but which on this occasion was declared by Radical writers to represent the true mind and intelligence of the country, as against such places as Manchester and Bradford ; Hastings, Northampton (1), and Walsall, of which I have spoken ; Maidstone, where the Radical member has since been unseated on petition ; Shoreditch (Haggerston), where Mr Cremer, long member for the borough, but defeated in 1895, managed to regain his seat by 24 votes ; Hartlepool, where the Radicals were fortunate in possessing in Sir Christopher Furness a candidate of very great local influence ; and Wolverhampton South, where the accomplished Mr Henry Norman, aided by the great influence of such a universally respected politician as Sir Henry Fowler, who sits for Wolverhampton East, fairly wrested the seat from his Liberal Unionist opponent. What a beggarly array of victories ! Of the defeats of the Radicals in the English boroughs, 'the black boroughs,' as the *Westminster Gazette* despairingly called them, I need not further speak. I recall these familiar facts because, although pregnant with instruction, the best of those opposed to the Government are only now (July 1901) beginning to learn, or perhaps I should rather say to express, in some

degree, the lesson which these startling results teach with sledge-hammer force.

As regards the English county constituencies, they did much as usual. The pagan ('Villager') sticks to his opinions, be they what they may, more tenaciously than the townsman. If he is suckled in a creed outworn, he adheres to it long after wise men have left it. To his mind politics are little more than a parliamentary election, and he enters on one election in the same spirit and at the same point where he left off at the previous election. He hears folks buzz about distant matters, such as Home Rule, South Africa, and the like; but he pays no great attention to them. He knows what he has done before and what his forbears used to do; and though he may not be Conservative in politics, yet is he of all men the most conservative in principle. 'Feyther was Blue,' and that's quite a sufficient reason, in countless instances, for a similar faith. As if a man should say, 'Feyther wore fig leaves for aprons. No modern tailor for me.' In Lincolnshire and East Anglia the labourer has, to a great extent, been convinced that the true interests of the farmer are opposed to his own; and as the farmer is generally a Conservative, the labourer is generally a Radical. Were all the farmers in this locality Radicals, the great bulk of the labourers would be Conservatives. The county of Lincoln affords a very fair example of how little the rural mind is influenced by great public pending questions. The divisions of Horncastle, Sleaford, and Stamford are habitually Conservative, and such they remained. The divisions of North and East Lindsey are habitually Radical, and so they continued. The divisions of Gainsborough and

Spalding are doubtful quantities, and the Conservatives won the former and lost the latter. The capital of the county, which, like many cathedral towns, has generally a very strong Liberal feeling, was the scene of an amusing attempt on the part of the Radical candidate to play the Imperialist at the eleventh hour, or rather at five minutes to twelve. A card was issued on behalf of Mr Roberts, the gentleman in question, bracketing him with Lord Roberts, and inscribed 'Vote for Charles Roberts, our Bobs.' To complete his martial standpoint, Mr Roberts 'rode round the city between two soldiers.' This fatuous farce, which only too truly represents the Radical attitude towards those questions now known as 'Imperial,' was promptly followed by the rejection of Mr Roberts.

As regards other county constituencies, Mr Brand, a former member and strong candidate, ably assisted by his justly popular wife, succeeded in regaining the Wisbech Division. Mr. Layland-Barratt, also a strong candidate, assisted by the apathy of wealthy Conservatives, which was a distinct feature in various constituencies, was victorious by 129 in the Torquay Division. The great name and influence of Spencer secured the triumph of Mr 'Bobby' Spencer in Mid Northants. In Yorkshire (Skipton), Mr Walter Morrison, who has often fought bravely and at times successfully as a Liberal Unionist, was defeated by 132; and in a few other instances constituencies as a rule distinctly Liberal, naturally reverted to the Opposition. But, on the other hand, the Unionists also had notable county victories, as at Cockermouth, where the Little England opinions and heavy pleasantries of Sir W. Lawson, supposed to be invin-

cible, were mercifully extinguished; at Northumberland (Tyneside), where a Radical bearing the great name of Pease, and who had long sat for the constituency, was defeated; and at Staffordshire (Burton), where a Radical had sat unopposed since 1886, in which year he defeated his Conservative opponent by 2473. In 1900, astonishing to say, the Unionist majority was 2171.

It is not my present purpose to review in any detail or to consider the Election of 1900 except so far as the predominant partner is concerned. But it may be observed in passing that in Ireland things remained just as they were in 1895, the Opposition majority being then, as in 1900, 61; that gallant little Wales, quite impotent to influence the result, went more Radical than ever; and that Bonnie Scotland, most remarkable fact, gave the Government a majority of 4. The spectacle of Edinburgh giving a divided vote of 2 and 2; of Glasgow returning 7 Unionists; of Dr Clark of famous memory, 'snuffed out' at Wick; and of the crowning Unionist mercy in the capture of Orkney and Shetland by a majority of 40, might well make the most reckless Radical pause and reflect. The last item is almost 'the impossible vanquished.'

V.

Dickens, whom some dull people persist in regarding as a caricaturist, has told us, with perfect truth, that during the present dispensation of things in this country, the political stage is exclusively reserved for 'Boodle and Buffy, their followers and families, their

heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns.' Such being the case, it is obviously desirable that both these exalted personages should be honest, able, high-minded, far-seeing, and patriotic. It is impossible to add to this sacred number of two. There is no third course. We cannot be governed by Lord Boodle, or by the Right Hon. William Buffy, or by Mr Redmond, however much the latter might wish to make a third in the arrangement. And it is, moreover, very desirable that our choice between Boodle and Buffy should not be permanently restricted by the disappearance of either of them. Boodle we know, and much appreciate his ability, experience, and love of peace. He is the master of many legions; and, if I may again quote Dickens, he 'has not only condescended to come in, but has done it handsomely, bringing in with him his nephews, male cousins, and brothers-in-law.' But, at the present moment, Buffy *non est inventus*. There are indeed certain well known figures on the Opposition side, Kimberley, Rosebery, Harcourt, Campbell-Bannerman—most unfortunate of men in having greatness thrust upon him, and who has nothing much to say to England except that she is 'bulkier' than Scotland—Asquith, Grey, but no Buffy. Boodle, instead of having to encounter a foeman worthy of his steel, at the head of a sufficiently formidable phalanx, is assailed by a semi-inarticulate buzzing and attacked with pin-pricks and gnat-bites. No marvel that he is somewhat inclined, after drinking his port wine, to put his handkerchief over his head to keep out the light and to keep off the insects, and to go to sleep in his armchair. An Opposition permanently unable to take the place of the Government, is necessarily unballasted by responsibilities, is reckless

and careless. The better men are discouraged. The dregs rise to the surface as scum. Some think to hold a great party together simply by the bond of a common antipathy combined with the love of plunder. These factors will for a time secure the effective co-operation of a pack of wolves; but they are altogether powerless to produce any practical harmony between the members of one of the two English political parties. Or, again, to meet together to affirm the supremacy of a particular political leader, whilst at the same moment each man reserves to himself the right to do and say what he likes, is not an 'organized hypocrisy,' for there is no hypocrisy about it. It is merely an organized absurdity.

What, then, is to be done? Buffy must be re-discovered, and the Liberal Party, which since 1886 has lain in a trance, not dead, but sleeping, must be awakened, and placed beneath his sway. The principles both of Liberalism and of Conservatism, in the nature of things, are permanent. The true essence of the latter is expressed by 'Hold fast that which is good.' The true essence of the former is expressed by 'Good is good, but better carrieth it.' England still contains any number of Liberals, but soldiers without efficient leaders are practically useless. It may be asked, what should be the 'programme' of the revived Liberal Party? None, for three or four years at least. Like Protestantism, it must begin with negations, although it need not and could not end with them. It will have first to settle, not its programme, but its principles, no light task. And what will these be? Well, they must include the following:—

A reconstituted Liberal Party must formally and

publicly condemn, and must practically utterly renounce, that remarkable hatred of England and belief that she, her ministers and her soldiers, are always and in all places in the wrong, which is at once so singular a phenomenon in present politics, and also so fatal to the fortunes of the Opposition. In reference to the great event of the time, we may style this line of conduct 'Pro-Boerdom'; but its application is far wider than South Africa. This mantle of malice will be as politically fatal to the wearer as was the robe steeped in the blood of Nessus; and must be destroyed, like a Babylonish garment.

The principle of true patriotism which underlies the rejection of Pro-Boerdom and all similar diseases of the mind and feelings, will also necessitate the formal rejection of the principle of Home Rule. This is a hard matter. The 'bulkier' portion (to use Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's elegant expression) of the Liberal Party swallowed Home Rule in 1886, and will have to throw it up again. Ever since that time down to the present hour the Radicals have endured unspeakable degradation in being dragged in the train of the Irish Nationalists, who, as they loudly proclaim, are no followers of the Radical leaders, but, as they are also equally careful to state, the constant and most bitter enemies of England. If Liberalism is to continue to exist, she must be delivered at any cost from the body of this death. Like Protestantism, she must begin with a protest, *i.e.*, against Pro-Boerdom and Home Rule. Are very cogent reasons wanting in favour of this course? Surely not. The Liberal leaders may most fairly urge that the attempts to obtain Home Rule have been fully tried and proved

to be hopeless; whilst, on the other hand, the conduct of the Nationalists has deprived them of all right to assistance from English patriots. I have defined what I mean by 'Home Rule.' It is of course desirable that every man should rule his own house, and every village its own affairs so far and as much as it can well and safely. Local Government is all very well. By all means work on the lines of what is called 'Devolution,' and aid the staggering House of Commons to bear its gigantic burden. But all this has nothing to do with Home Rule. How can the Liberal Party ever effectively raise its old and glorious cry of 'Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform,' whilst encumbered with this stone of Sisyphus? Take 'Reform.' What does the term mean? Not the constant alteration of existing arrangements; but a just parliamentary representation, the great principle which triumphed in 1832. Yet now, such is the irony of fate that the so-called successors of the men of 1832 shriek with horror at the idea that an end should be put to the gross over-representation of Ireland, and justice done to the grave under-representation of England. And why? Because they imagine that they can always count upon Irish Nationalist votes. Hypocrisy may be the tribute which vice pays to virtue; but there is no hypocrisy in this line of conduct. It is a barefaced and glaring sacrifice of principle to a supposed expediency. What would the world have thought of the reforming Russell and Grey of 1832, if they had said, 'Touch not Gatton and old Sarum, so long as they return our supporters'? And the folly of it, for the Liberals and the Radicals can never gain any seat in Ireland, but may gain scores of seats in England.

The predominant partner would, moreover, observe, and would appreciate, the fact that a great political party was prepared to do her justice; and did not intend, as has so often been done during the last fifty years, to continue to tread upon her patience, and to subordinate her just interests to those of her more pushing comrades.

A reconstituted Liberal Party must carefully avoid the Radical view that any institution or change which does not answer Radical expectations is therefore a failure. Household suffrage is an admirable thing, but it has disappointed the Radical. Hence he thinks that it should be amended. Shortly after the last General Election I was conversing with an active Manchester Radical. He endeavoured to explain to me how a number of extraordinary local circumstances had occasioned the temporary downfall of his party in that city, but said that things would all come right again in two or three years, and that manhood suffrage would keep them right permanently. Thus it seems that the heads and fathers of families are not to be trusted. It is the grown-up sons who have no homes of their own, and the wandering lodger, here to-day and gone to-morrow, in whom true political sagacity is concentrated. And should they fail the Radical cause, which is perfectly conceivable, then we should doubtless hear much anent the charms of female suffrage; and might, on these lines, possibly work downwards to the vesting of political power in the infant in arms.

A reconstituted Liberal Party must act for the good of the nation, not for that or this class, whether numerous or few in number. A duke, a squire, a parson, a labourer, are all equally entitled to justice

and to fair play. Of course everyone admits this in theory, but it has been sadly violated in practice. Far more commonly the feeling and practice have been, that a duke is supposed to be rich, therefore he should be heavily fined; a squire is a land-owner, therefore he is a tyrant who should be crushed; a parson is a bigot, therefore he should be plundered and insulted; a labourer is weak, therefore he should be neglected and ignored. A true Liberal must also sternly discountenance, not merely violence, but also all that mass of personal attack, slander, and libel, which unfortunately has been such a prominent feature of the last few years. The Liberal must remember that, as a rule, the mob is on his side, because it has a vague, but by no means wholly incorrect idea that, on the whole, he has done more than the Conservative for the masses. It is therefore the especial duty of the Liberals to watch over the maintenance of order and the freedom of opinion on public occasions. A few score victories like that at Battersea would be the ruin of any party.

The true Liberal must and will stand by the law, even where he does not like it, and will endeavour to obtain its alteration by constitutional means. Here, again, everybody will agree in theory. But when Mr Auditor Cockerton, in the simple exercise of his duty, yet at the same time with a considerable amount of moral courage, disallowed the illegal expenditure of a School Board, why was he furiously denounced, and why was every effort made, including hopeless and ridiculous litigation, to sustain the illegality? The whole incident afforded a remarkable illustration of an attempt to do evil that good might come.

The true Liberal will not object to measures simply because they are introduced by Conservatives. If they are good, he will endeavour to make them still better. He will not complain that his preserves are being poached upon. The Radical practice of objecting to almost every Bill brought in by the other side, has long ago been found out by the Metropolitan working man; and is one of the reasons why he votes so steadily for the Conservatives.

The true Liberal will not join in senseless obstruction in Parliament, nor will he tacitly approve of it. He will do what in him lies to preserve the dignity and efficiency of the House of Commons, so sadly impaired of late years. To waste a valuable evening in idle chatter merely because there is no one present who can accept the closure, shows the tactics of a monkey or of a mischievous schoolboy rather than of a serious politician; whilst, at the same time, such methods are hopeless to prevent that against which they are directed.

The reconstituted Liberal Party will not rashly plunge into attempts to make huge and sudden alterations in the institutions of the country. Thus, to take a prominent illustration. It is quite conceivable that a time may come when, on account of its then foreign character and desertion of the principles of the Reformation, the Church of England may well deserve disestablishment and disendowment, as faithless to its duty and position. But this is not the present state of things, and to embark on such a colossal crusade would practically paralyze useful legislation for years, and distract the country to a most alarming extent. Disestablishment is not at present desired by the masses, to whom various

politicians are ever so anxious to pander. It is the desire mainly of certain bitter Noncomformists, generally ministers, or under the immediate influence of some minister, who imagine that this step would greatly magnify the social position of the Nonconformist minister throughout the country. This, I feel sure, is a delusion. Society, classes, cliques, churches, will continue to choose their own company and to despise others, whether a National Church exists or not. If Lord A or parson B refuse to associate with us and profess to look down upon us, we must grin and bide. We shall not find them more friendly after we have succeeded in rolling them in the gutter. The essence of the foregoing principles is that a reconstituted Liberal Party must play the parliamentary game fairly and squarely—must ever strive to raise, not to pull down. Never mind what certain Radicals may have done in the past. The path of reform, especially of self-reform, is always somewhat difficult and painful. Some apparent advantages may be sacrificed. Office cannot at present be hoped for, and by wise Liberals is at present not in the least desired. The Irish Nationalists may choose to habitually support the Conservatives. Let them go. It would be a blessing in disguise. The Liberal Party might be a very slender host, but it would be united in its principles, and a suitable programme would be forthcoming in the fulness of time. Every earnest politician knows that the amount of work to be done is enormous. Besides such notorious questions as the placing of the Army and the War Office on a satisfactory basis, Temperance, the Housing of the Working Classes, and the Support of the Deserving Poor in Old Age, there are

numerous other problems of improvement and grave matters for public attention, such as might well tax the best energies of a great party for an indefinite period. Even as regards office, time works wonders. In 1832 the Liberal majority was 370; within ten years the Conservative majority was 76. Whatever may be said to the contrary, it will be discovered in what is called 'the long run,' that the man and the party who thus play the parliamentary game fairly and squarely, will, like the man who invented the art of speaking the truth, 'be deuced deal cleverer fellows than many persons have given them credit for.'

Lastly: Will there be a reconstituted Liberal Party, and will it take this somewhat painful path, adopt 'this baptism of salt water'? Or will the scattered elements of Liberalism remain on the desolate sea shore, blind to the better way, and deaf to the truths which the wild waves are hoarse with proclaiming, hopelessly ploughing the sands? If so, one of two things must happen. Either those elements within the empire which, through malice or ignorance, are hostile to its power and dignity, will destroy or seriously impair the constitution and position of England; or, what is vastly more probable, as Buffy will have permanently disappeared, Boodle will continue to rule, to be succeeded in tract of time by Boodle junior. In this case, Cincinnatus Rosebery, unsummoned to the post, must continue to plough his own lonely furrow, and to chew the cud of his philosophical reflections to the bitter end.

JOHN LELAND IN CORNWALL.

In the year 1534 that exalted patron of learning, King Henry VIII. of famous memory, by 'a Commission under the Broad-Seal,' empowered one John Leland, who is described as 'Library-keeper to that King,' to enter and search all libraries and places wherein records, writings, and whatever else that related to antiquity were lodged. This in itself is a fairly large order, but it was by no means sufficient for the soaring and comprehensive soul of the librarian. The eminent Mr Thomas Hearne of Oxford, who in 1710 gave to an admiring world the first volume of Leland's *Itinerary*, with judicious modesty observes of his hero, that having received the aforesaid Commission,—

'Mr John Leland set about one of the greatest and most glorious undertakings that either had or has been attempted by any person, of whatever country, in his circumstances. . . . He carried on his travels for several years, and was so inquisitive in his remarks, that being not content with what the libraries of the respective houses, to which he apply'd himself afforded, nor with what was recorded in the windows and other monuments belonging to cathedrals, monasteries, etc., he wandered from place to place where he thought there were any footsteps of Roman, Saxon, or Danish buildings, and took particular notice of all the Tumuli, Coyns, Inscriptions, etc. which he happen'd to light upon.'

Besides these little matters Hearne mentions many

others which were included within the powerful mental grasp of the library-keeper. Thus, we are informed that 'sometimes he noted the bigness and form of monuments,' and altogether he exercised himself so remarkably in these wanderings, and so impressed both his own age and posterity, that he has ever since been known as 'the Antiquary,' just as Strabo is 'the Geographer,' and Homer 'the Poet.' Hearne further compares him with Hêrodotos, and the comparison is undoubtedly just in at least one respect, namely, that in the case of each of these distinguished men it is extremely difficult to form a definite opinion whether they had ever seen this or that particular place anent which they may be holding forth. But Hêrodotos had certainly seen some places, and so had Leland, and let this suffice. It must not, however, be supposed that Hearne is a mere blind hero-worshipper. On the contrary, he can behold spots on the face of the sun. Thus, although, as we have seen, Leland took particular notice of the coins he happened to light upon, a feature which is not necessarily confined to antiquaries, yet we find Hearne complaining—

'With respect to the Coyns and Inscriptions it is to be wish'd that he had not only mentioned but been also very nice and exact in describing them, and in putting down all the words and letters that were visible on them. It must be acknowledg'd that in some of the Inscriptions he has done this part very punctually, but for the Coyns he has fail'd in it, thinking it enough to tell us that there had been any dug up. . . . But this will be reckon'd a small omission, and what he did in the other parts of his journey was prodigious.'

Quite so. Naturally the inscription on a coin is an unimportant matter compared with the crucial question

where it was found. And then, just consider how he rode about the country. In another place we find Mr Hearne complaining somewhat querulously that—

'It may perhaps be look'd upon as a matter of no small wonder, that a person of Mr Leland's extraordinary industry and inquisitive genius, should not, when he had so fair an opportunity, give us an exact and particular account of the . . . antiquities in and about the University of Oxford. . . . The large Commission he had received from his Royal Master lodg'd in him a power of examining whatever Papers he had occasion for in framing and carrying on the Great Work he had designed. . . . And as he had been a member of the University in his younger years, and was, sometime after he had finished his travels, honoured with a Canonry, or Prebendship of King's College, now Christ Church; so one would think that in point of gratitude he should in his description of cities, towns, etc., have given us a full and an accurate relation of the most remarkable antiquities of Oxford. But instead of this, abating some short memorials scattered up and down in his *Collectanea*, he has thought fit, after he has touched upon the Castle and Osney Abbey, to take his leave of it.'

As a matter of fact, it was the master's constant practice to 'touch' upon this or that subject, and incontinently 'to take his leave of it,' whereby he avoided that tedious prolixity which has made the very name of antiquary synonymous with Dryasdust. Before we enter Cornwall with the great traveller, I may briefly refer to the history of the MSS. which he left. He died, without having published anything, on April 18, 1552. Hearne tells us that 'Even King Edward VI. expressed a deep concern for his loss, and to show that he had a true respect and value for him, he took all due care that his Papers should be preserv'd and not employed to any bad purpose,' a rather dark saying. Leland had thoughtfully

already either himself composed or else practically inspired his own epitaph 'annex'd to his Monument, in the Church of St. Michael in le Querne, London,' a fact preserved by Mr Weever in his exhilarating and 'excellent Book call'd *Ancient Funeral Monuments*,' 1631. The epitaph speaks of Leland's great value and how much the country owed to him. King Edward gave his papers into the custody of Sir John Cheek, 'one of the greatest lights to learning that was ever bred in this nation.' Sir John seems to have done nothing with them; and they subsequently passed from hand to hand, the eminent persons who had them from time to time taking such care of them that 'they received so much damage, especially the volumes of the *Itinerary*, that several leaves were quite out, others strangely mangl'd, and the rest in a shatter'd condition.' For their further benefit they had also been thoughtfully allowed to 'contract wet.' But at last, as good luck would have it, they fell into the hands of one William Burton, an antiquary of Leicestershire, who copied most of them, and, in 1632, lodged the originals in 'the Bodlejan Library at Oxford.' In the early part of the eighteenth century Hearne conceived the brilliant idea of having the *Itinerary* printed; and in 1710 issued the first volume, the edition being limited to 120 copies. The *Itinerary* ultimately appeared 'in nine small volumes'; and, at 'the demand of the Curious,' a second edition was issued in 1745, and a third, in five volumes, in 1770. The earlier editions command a high price, and as much as £57 15s. has been given for a copy. The edition of 1770 is enriched by various miscellaneous articles all more or less, generally less, valuable. Amongst these is a letter by 'the famous Dr

Plot,' forming an 'Account of his intended Journey through England and Wales, for the discovery of Antiquities and other Curiosities, in a letter to Dr Fell, Dean of Christ Church,' and afterwards Bishop of Oxford, 1675–86. Fired by the example of Leland, the high Court favour which he received, and the immortal fame to which he attained, the great Plot conceived the idea of making a similar peregrination at the expense of others, and of discovering all that Leland had discovered and every thing else besides. Plot, who was evidently one born out of due time, and who ought to have been a member of the Society for Psychical Research, proposed also to include the occult and the supernormal in his investigations. Says he :—

'Next I shall enquire of animals, and first of strange People, such as the Gubbings in Devonshire,' who would appear from this to have been animals of some kind. 'Of any strange accidents that attend Corporations or Families, as that the Deans of Rochester ever since the Foundation by turnes have died Deans and Bishops. The Bird with a white breast, that haunts the family of Oxenham near Exeter, just before the death of any of that family,' and has been made familiar to us by Kingsley in *Westward Ho!* 'Of such animals as are friends or enemies to any part of land or sea.' This would seem to include all animals. 'Fish also are peculiar to some countries, as pilchards to Cornwal, bretts to Lincoln-shire.' I find, from an ancient authority, that the *bret* or *brut* is 'a fish of the turbot kind.' 'No ratts, no moles or wants [*i.e.*, 'turners-up'—of earth, a North country word for moles] were ever found in the Isle of Shepey.'

These are samples of the innumerable matters touching which the great Plot intended to exercise himself. He meant also, he tells us, 'to make a full collection of British Money,' and it seems to have been his failure in this respect which caused him to

stumble fatally on the threshold of this vast emprise. Alas, what we have lost! The ancient rhyme,

> 'The reason why I cannot tell,
> I do not like you, Dr Fell,'

is not applicable here. I do not like Dr Fell because he failed to assist the plot—I should say Dr Plot—to discover innumerable important matters now for ever shrouded in obscurity. But to return to 'the Antiquary.'

King Harry was a distinctly busy man, and, after bestowing this remarkable Commission upon Leland in 1534, it was very probably some considerable time before he again turned his attention to the matter. But he would doubtless expect that ultimately something would come of it, and very likely may have intimated as much. At all events, in 1546, some twelve years after the conferring of the Commission, we meet with a remarkable proof of the librarian's energy and industry in the form of a letter, 'geven of hym as a Newe Yeares Gyfte to King Henry,' to quote words added by Bale as its title. There is a singular agreement between this letter and that of Dr Plot above noticed, namely, that each is an account of what never took place. Plot made no journey; Leland practically wrote no books. But the great man who was, as we should now say, a decided Progressive, shall speak for himself. He begins by reciting his Commission in a sentence of immense length and hard to construe, but I gather that part of his business was to see 'al maner of Superstition and craftely coloured Doctrine of a Rowte of the Romaine Bisshopes totally expellid oute of this your moste catholique Reaulme.'

He then feels it his duty to declare 'what frute hath spronge of my laborius Journey and costly Enterprise,' and this, naturally as it seems, leads him to some remarks concerning 'the usurpid Autorite of the Bishop of Rome and his Complices.' But at length he manages to say that he has digested his immense historical knowledge into four books. 'The firste Booke begynning at the Druides is deducted on the tyme of the cumming of S. Augustine yn to Engelande.' The second extended to 'the Advente of the Normans.' The third to the death of Henry VII. 'The fourth beginnith with the name of your Majeste, whos Glorie in Lerning' was so universally known, that although Leland had celebrated Bladud, Constantine the Great, Alfred, 'Hunfride, Duke of Glocestre, and Tipetote Erle of Worcester,' with many others, 'yet conferred withe your Grace they seme as smaule lightes, (if I may frely say my jugemente, your highe modeste not offendid,) yn respecte of the Day-starre.'

This same strain of honest feeling, untinged by anything fulsome, may be met with in the Preface to the Authorised Version of the Bible, written at the happy time when 'that bright *Occidental Star*, Queen *Elizabeth*,' had set and left the sapient James the world to bustle in. Leland proceeds to say that having read divers authors, he became enflamed with desire to see the parts of this 'ample Reaulme' about which he had read. He therefore set off and wandered about for six years to such tune that 'there is almost nother Cape, nor Bay, Haven, Creke or Peere, River, Breches, Meres, Fenny Waters, Valleis, Mores, Hethes, Chases, Cities, Burges, Castelles, Monasteries, and Colleges, but I have seen

them; and notid yn so doing a hole Worlde of Thinges very memorable.'

It is not altogether clear why under a Commission to search for records, writings, etc., he applied himself with such zeal to discover creeks, piers, moors, and the many other geographical matters which he enumerates; but certain it is that much obscurity is connected with the proceedings of this great man. After divers further flourishes, and the introduction of the names of various ancient authors, he informs Henry that he purposed 'to write an History, to the which I entende to adscribe this Title, *De antiquitate Britannica*, or els *Civilis Historia*. And this Worke I entende to divide yn to so many Bookes as there be Shires yn England, and Sheres and greate Dominions yn Wales.'

This vast undertaking was to consist of 'fiftie Bookes,' whilst six more books were to be devoted to an account of the Isles of Vecta, Mona and Mevania, 'sumtyme Kyngedoms,' but now portions of Henry's immense dominions. Three further books were to be added by way of garland or ornament, and these were to give an account of the Royal Families, Peerage, Captains and Rulers of the realm from the remotest times. Leland concludes by thanking Henry for his kindness, intimating that the King had borne the cost of his stupendous investigations, trusting that in due course Prince Edward might succeed his sire, and politely wishing that the King, then in the last year of his life, might have 'a numbre of Princely Sunnes by the most Gratius, Benigne, and Modeste Lady' his Queen, Katherine Parr. Hearne further informs us that when Leland had returned from his travels, 'settling at his

Habitation in London, he spent about six years in digesting his Papers'; and that he 'would have given sufficient satisfaction to all People,' if ultimately—a circumstance which has also happened to others—he had not been taken ill and afterwards died.

The above circumstances connected with the life and writings of this illustrious man will the better prepare us for that wealth of information which is derivable from the Memoranda known as his *Itinerary* and *Collectanea*; and I have chosen to accompany him into Cornwall, not only because that county is highly interesting in itself, but also because he seems to have given a rather special attention to it. If we may trust the date in the MS., he started westward May 5, 1542; and although he is very reticent on the matter, doubtless travelled comfortably enough on horseback and attended. The holder of a 'Commission under the Broad-seal' would be certain at that time of a courteous and respectful reception. Woe to him who failed in his duty to the King by failing in proper attention to the King's friend. Arrived at Bath, the prowess of our English Pausanias was put to a severe test with respect to some inscriptions on stones in the city walls:—'I saw a Grey-Hound as renning, and at the Taile of hym was a Stone engraved with great Romane letters, but I could pike no sentence out of it.'

In another instance, that of 'an inscription of a Tumbe or Burial,' he succeeded in making out *Vixit annos xxx.* So far good. At Camelot in Somerset, 'sumtyme a famose Town or Castelle upon a very Tarre or Hille,' he came on some faint traces of King Arthur. 'The People can telle nothing ther but that

they have hard say that Arture much resorted to Camalat.' Hanmer, in a note on the line in *Lear*,

'I'd drive ye cackling home to Camelot,'

asserts that there 'are bred large quantities of geese, so that many other places are from thence supplied with quills and feathers.' Possibly Leland encountered some of these. The perusal of a modern dictionary will show that even now there are numerous words which may be legitimately spelt in more ways than one; and we are all aware that until comparatively recent times the majority of words followed in form the taste and fancy of the speller. But Leland is the veritable Great Mogul of cranky and contradictory spelling. In the days of Henry VIII. many public characters failed more or less in consistency, and the Antiquary fairly wallows in variants of place-names. Thus, having written *Camallate*, two lines lower he gives us *Camalat*, and the next line *Camallat*. Meandering slowly along, and occasionally letting fall such gems as, 'The towne of Ilchester hath beene a very large thing,' he at length arrived, presumably in early summer, on the western border of Devon, and proceeded to discover Cornwall. We must not complain because he tells us nothing respecting the population of any place. When, about the middle of the eighteenth century, some impious wight proposed that a general census should be taken, a cry of horror arose at the idea. The misfortunes of David were still well remembered, and, when one comes to think of it, the census of 1801 was followed by the most desperate struggle for existence in which the country has ever been engaged. Our traveller crossed the Tamar and entered '*Cornewaule*' by a stone bridge

of four arches called New Bridge, 'of the making of the Abbates of *Tavestok* and mainteinyd by them'; and here we note incidentally a species of useful public work often carried out by the Regular Clergy before the days of Surveyors of Highways and County Councils. Leland was, of course, no friend to monks and friars, and occasionally pokes sneers at them, just as Hêrodotos does at kings, to tickle the Greek palate; but, after all said and done, the Regulars had their uses. In England there is an endless ebb and flow of opinion on these matters. Just at present Henry VIII., the Reformation, its leaders and partizans, are in distinct disfavour; and priests and monks are laboriously compiling works purporting to show the eminent all-round merits and virtues of the Anglican Regular Clergy in the first third of the sixteenth century. This extreme view is absurd, and after a time will again pass away. The case against the Regulars does not depend upon Cromwell and his myrmidons, although Mary showed her usual lack of sagacity in destroying the *Black Book*.

From New Bridge Leland says he came 'by a mile' to '*Lanstoun*.' Extreme accuracy in his distances was not one of the strong points of the great man. I will not say of him as Elton (*Origins of English History*, p. 29) declares of Pytheas and others, that 'the measurements of distance by the Greek travellers appear to be all equally valueless.' But it is clear that the Antiquary constantly substitutes vague computation for accurate measurement; and is especially fond of saying that places are twelve miles apart, just as we are informed by modern critics that Old Testament writers, when they mean a long time, say forty years. Thus, to take the present

instance, Leland says in another place :—'*Launston*, otherwys cawlled *Lostephan*, yn old tyme cawlled *Duneuet*, standith ii. myles beyownd *Powlston* Bridge on Tamar.'

And yet Poulston Bridge is nearer to Launceston than New Bridge. We have already got three different spellings of this place-name, but the next time he mentions it, it appears as *Lawnston*. The town had an ecclesiastical name, *Lan-stephan* ('The Church of Stephen') and a civil name, which was Old English, *Dun-heuet* ('Hill-head'), the *Dunheved* of Domesday. Arrived at *Lanstoun*, which, in another place he calls *Lanstuphandun*, Leland discovered a 'castelle,' which, as we might suppose, was 'auncient,' a 'Paroche Chirch,' a market, 'Mayre' and Burgesses. Of the castle he gives an unusually elaborate description :—'The Castelle of *Launstun* [yet another spelling of the name] stondith on the Knappe [top] of the Hille . . . and the Moles [ramparts—a curious use of the word] that the Kepe stondeth on is of a terrible highth, and the Arx [upper part] of it, is the strongest . . . . that ever I saw in any auncient Worke in Englande. . . . Withyn this Castel ys a Chapel, and a Hawle for Syses and Sessions, and a commune Gayle for al *Cornwayle*.'

He seems to have caught the Cornish use of the word 'terrible,' *i.e.*, as a general intensive, meaning 'very' or 'great.' Thus, when I was once on pilgrimage in those parts, and asked an old man at Tintagel whether times grew better or worse, he replied, speaking very rapidly :—'Warse, a deal warse. In the time of my uncle and all they terrible gurt men buried in that churchyard, folks drank out o' qart pots and now they drink out o' pints.'

Leland's account of the ecclesiastical edifices of Launceston is not up to the high standard he maintains touching the castle. Indeed, at this juncture he appears to have fallen into the hands of a local dragoman, which probably accounts for his talking about 'The Paroche Chirch of S. Stephane lately re-edified,' and 'a Chapel of Mary Magdalen,' which was used by the Mayor and Corporation, the fact being that the church of S. Mary Magdalen had been rebuilt by Sir Henry Trecarrel some eighteen years previously. In the picture of Launceston attached to the Norden-Speed Map of 1610, it is described somewhat strangely as 'Mary Magdal his Church.' Possibly, however, by 'S. Stephane' Leland may mean Launceston itself. He distinguishes from this the other 'Chirch of S. Stephan about half a mile from Launstown' (he can't spell the name twice alike to save his life), and also notices 'the Priorie.' The dragoman got him into this edifice, and showed him a 'notable Tumbe' or two, Prior Stephen being 'richely tumbed,' and also informed him that 'one Mabilia a Countes was buried ther.' By this time he evidently felt that he had thoroughly done Launceston, and was prepared to move onward towards 'the Bleke Northern Se'; for Cornwall is bounded on the north by the North Sea, frequently called 'Severn Se,' or even simply 'Severn.' Our island story has generally been a very stirring one, and the last eighteen years of King Henry were particularly so; but hardly a trace of their colour, storm, and stress is to be found in the notes of the Antiquary. Once we find an allusion to Henry's scheme of southern coast defence:—'The King hath set his Castel on *Pendinas* [*i.e.*, Pendennis, 'the Fortress-head'] at one of the Pointes of *Falemuth* Haven.'

And at the other point, S. *Maws*, 'is a Forteres late begon by the King.' But this is a rule illustrating exception. One cannot but ask, What was the true inwardness of this expedition? It seems impossible that the King and the Council could want to know that there was a castle, church, mayor, assizes and sessions at Launceston. Of course I do not forget the immense history that the good man was going to write some of these days. Count Smorltork, we remember, tapped his forehead to show where the materials for 'his great work on England' were, and had, moreover, a book 'full of notes'; and it was evidently the same with Leland. It may perchance be suggested that our Antiquary was so absorbed in the past as to be naturally neglectful of the present. But I think that both from the perusal of his Notes, and from what has been already said, it is clear such was not the case. He keeps a sharp eye on 'the Bishop of Rome and his Complices,' a comprehensive term; and takes keen note of the gentry in the districts through which he passed, and of their lands and revenues. His notices of men and events in the history of the country are characterized by a uniform vagueness, and of chronology he has more hatred than a Hindu. Many people nowadays visit Cornwall to enjoy the beauty of sea and shore and the delights of a repose distant from the bustle and strain of active modern life. Refined natures inhale with intense pleasure the delicate aroma of bygone faiths and beliefs, purified by time from all unseemly features, and made enchanting by distance. They thrill with emotion at the tales and records of the brave and perilous days of old, and they carefully gather up the fragments of folklore, in order that

nothing which man has lived, believed, or feared, may be lost to knowledge; and that thus with a better understanding of the past, they may more deeply comprehend the present and themselves. But not such were the thoughts of Leland, as he rode from Launceston to '*Botreaux* Castle, vulgo *Boscastle*,' which, according to custom, he describes as 12 miles from Launceston. As a matter of fact it is 18, but never mind. Arrived there he remarks, 'It is a very filthy town and il kept. There is a church [*i.e.*, Forrabury church] in it.' This is a frequent feature in towns, but we observe that nothing escapes him; and he thus describes the romantic little harbour:—'Ther cummith down a litle broke out of the Hilles, and so renning by the West side of the Towne goith into *Severn* betwixt 2 Hylles, and ther maketh a pore Havenet, but of no certaine salvegarde. . . . The people ther brenne for the most part Firres and Ling,' *i.e.*, heath, furze.

There are few finer sea sights than to behold the waves on 'the thundering shores of Bos,' pouring over the grim black island-rock, the Meachard—we have dropt the Saint, but it was the rock of S. Meachard—and making as if they would sweep up the 'pore Havenet' and, Scylla-like, snatch their prey of man and ship. Observing that *Strettoun* (= Stratton) is 12 miles from Boscastle (it is about 18), our traveller proceeded along the coast road to '*Bossinny*,' one of the most famous parishes in England; for *Boscyny* (*i.e.*, *Bod-cynsa*, 'the chief-dwelling'), the *Botcini* of Domesday, is the original and proper name of the parish of Tintagel. The great importance of the castle ultimately overshadowed the earlier name of the parish. We often

associate Cornwall with disfranchised boroughs and disused mines, and it is difficult to realize how power, civilization, and population have shifted in the course of ages from one part of the kingdom to another. This remote north coast on '*Severn* Se' was once far more important than it is now; and the charters of the wise Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, brother of the foolish Henry III., as well as the early invasion by the cloud of Irish saints and its results, and the misty glory which hangs around the name of Arthur, alike attest the fact. Richard wills that 'our Borough of Tintajoil shall be free,' and that the burgesses 'shall have all liberties which our Burgesses of Dounheved [=Launceston] enjoy.' But castle and borough slowly faded into decay, as the stream of life and action rolled away elsewhere, and Leland says: 'This *Bossenny* [of course he can't spell it twice alike] hath beene a bygge thing for a Fischar Town, and hath great Privileges grauntid onto it. A man may se there the Ruines of a gret numbre of Houses.'

The curious ancient circular mound known as Bossinney Castle, and sometimes called a barrow, and on which the writ for the election of members of Parliament was wont to be read, is beneath our Antiquary's notice; but he finds time to observe that 'a Frere of late dayes toke apon hym to make an Haven at this Place, but he litle prevailed therein.'

So fussy, and, at the same time, such poor creatures were friars. Some eleven years after Leland's visit that arch-humbug Duke Dudley of Northumberland, the inventor of the system of rotten boroughs, galvanized Bossinney, as it is often spelt, into parliamentary life, along with Saltash, Camelford, West Looe,

Grampound, Penryn, S. Michael and Newport (part of Launceston), all in this county, in which, as it was a Royal Duchy, and the Duke was for the moment practically king and government rolled into one, the influence of the Crown was supreme. So for generations did these great centres continue to return members to the House of Commons. In 1784 one Arthur Wade was the sole elector of Bossinney, and returned the two members accordingly. In 1815 the constituency had increased to 9—William Symonds, his four sons, two nephews, son-in-law, and friend William Brown. This was the constituency which celebrated the triumph of Waterloo. But all things come to an end. In 1824 Grampound (= *Grand Pont*) was disfranchised for 'excessive' bribery, and its two members bestowed on the county of York, which, for all its broad acres, had until then but two. At last came 1832, and then Bossinney, with the above mentioned boroughs except Penryn, passed away, so far as parliamentary life is concerned, with Georgian England. What an immense time it is since the great Reform Act! So, as Pausanias would say, let this suffice concerning Bossinney.

Another mile brought Leland to '*Tintagel Castel.*' Pryce, in his *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica*, 1790, informs us that the name means 'the Castle of Deceit.' It never occurred to numerous sages of yore that it was decidedly unlikely people would give ridiculous names to their children, towns, etc. Pryce, in his Preface, mentions by the way that 'the Chaldean, Egyptian, Arabic, Phenician, Celtic, Welsh, and Cornish languages are all derived from the original Hebrew tongue'; but, notwithstanding all this, I must do him the justice to say that his

derivations of Cornish place-names are, on the whole, very respectable. Fifty-five years after his time a professor in the University of Prague, who evidently held Pryce's linguistic theory, could gravely tell us that 'Merodach' means 'pounded myrrh,' and Nebuchadnezzar 'an entangled-adversary'; and there are still good folks who hold it Bible teaching that 'Babylon' means 'confusion.' The Rev. Robert Williams, erudite author of the *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, 1865, shows that old Pryce was a bit of a humbug, who, chancing to get hold of a MS. vocabulary, 'compiled in 1730, by Tonkin or Gwavas,' promptly published it as his own. Oh, these antiquaries! One gets to lose faith at last even in such men as Dr Plot; possibly to think that Leland himself was not absolutely flawless, especially since he says of Tintagel: 'This Castel standith in the Paroche of *Trevenny* [*i.e.*, the Hamlet of Trevena], and the Paroch therof is of S. *Symphorian*, ther caullid *Simiferian*'; for at times he can, notwithstanding the latitude he always allows himself in the matter, be very nice and particular anent the spelling of names. The parish, as we have seen, was Bossinney, and the patron saint was S. Marteriana; but I suspect the Antiquary fell into the hands of a local dragoman, as I once did myself. This worthy soul, I hasten to say, though the reader may not believe it, steadfastly refused to take any fee or reward, and poured out his stores of knowledge simply from love of his native place and good feeling towards a stranger; for have not the Cornish been noted for politeness ever since the days of Diodôros, and possibly much earlier? He told me many things touching King Arthur; and, to show that he was

not at all credulous, said he had always declined to believe that the Blameless King threw a certain huge block of granite from a neighbouring hill half a mile off to the spot where it now lies. S. Symphorian, moreover, though not actually in first place at Tintagel, was certainly much 'thought to' in the neighbourhood, and was patron of Forrabury, the parish church of Boscastle.

To-day, the traveller, as he partakes of a first-class lunch in the dining-room of the 'King Arthur's Castle' Hotel, can look down upon the now comparatively scanty ruins of *Tin-diogel* ('Castle-impregnable'), sore 'waren away with gulfyng yn of the Se,' as Leland says. Some cantankerous persons profess to be annoyed because these romantic spots, semi-sacred through superb traditions, are here and there blessed with excellent hotels. Away with such grumblers! I think none the less tenderly of 'Isolt the Queen'—

> 'A low sea-sunset glorying round her hair
> And glossy-throated grace,'

after having taken mine ease in mine inn. So long life to Mr Silvanus Trevail and his allies; and, as mining is now mainly a thing of the past, may they help their Duchy in opening it out ever more and more to the tourist. Some, again, may profess to despise the tourist, but are we not all tourists nowadays? The railway engine, as Arnold said, swept away the Middle Ages; and however little we may learn or gain from what we see, yet it is surely better to see than not to see. Pausanias, with reverent and appreciative eye, saw Greece in decay. Leland, with hard, cold glance, saw Plantagenet

England in decay. The old order was passing, the old castles and town walls, with certain notable exceptions, were crumbling away; the monasteries were being battered into ruins, which for many a long year were to serve as stone quarries and to repair the roads. To anyone with a mind at all sensitive or philosophical, matters such as these would probably have given rise to musings, serious if not melancholy, as he journeyed from shire to shire. But such considerations would appear to have affected our Antiquary rather less than the horse he bestrode. King Arthur, moreover, so great a source of perplexity to the learned of the Victorian age, was no trouble to him. Speaking of the river '*Alan*' [*i.e.*, *Elin*, an 'angle,' 'elbow,' because it makes a regular elbow-angle north of Bodmin, and so turns northwards to 'Severn Se,'], 'yt may fortune for *Alaune*,' he says: 'By this Ryver *Arture* fowght his last Feld, yn token wherof the People fynd there yn plowyng Bones and Harneys.'

It appears from a Mandate of Edward III., dated July 14, 1364, and addressed, 'To our beloved servant John Shirbee, Constable of our Castle of Tintagel,' that the fortress was then 'desolate'; but considerable efforts were made from time to time to maintain the ancient chantry in the chapel of the castle, and to induce the chaplain, who was not within the bishop's jurisdiction, to remain in residence. In 1388 a warrant was issued 'for the price of vestments of rich silk, of a red and blue colour, consisting of a chesable, two albs, two scarfs, two maniples, two frontlets,' and divers other matters for the use of the chantry. In November 1483, Richard III. appointed John Leicroft 'Chaplain of his Free

Chapel of Dyndagell'; but at the 'Court of Assession,' in 1537, the whole castle was stated to be totally in decay, and five years later Leland describes it thus :—

'This Castelle hath been a mervelus strong and notable forteres, and almost *situ loci* inexpugnable, especially for the Dungeon [donjon] that is on a great and high terrible cragge environid with the Se, but having a Draw Bridge from the Residew of the Castelle onto it. There is yet a Chapel standing within this Dungeon of S. *Ulette* alias *Uliane* [S. Juliot, virgin and martyr, who had also bestowed her name on a neighbouring parish]. Shepe now feed within the Dungeun. The Residew of the Buildinges of the Castel be sore wether beten and yn Ruine, but it hath beene a large thinge.'

Leland, with his peculiar use of words, applies the term donjon, *i.e.*, the castle keep, to the whole of the sea-environed headland, which some other writers (not strictly correct) call 'the Island.' Bossinney-Tintagel must have indeed been an important place, when the former was 'a bygge thing' and the latter 'a large thinge.' In his *Collectanea*, Leland has a further note on the castle. He says it had 'be lykehod iii. Wardes.' Two had fallen away with cliff, and the sea 'hathe made ther almost an Isle, and no way ys to enter ynto hyt now but by long Elme Trees layde for a Bryge. Now withowte the Isle renneth alonly a Gate House, a Walle, and a fals Braye [in fortification, 'a false trench made to hide the real one'], dyged and walled. In the Isle remayne old Walles, and yn the Est Part of the same, the ground beyng lower, remayneth a Walle embateled, and Men alyve saw ther yn a Postern Dore of Yren.'

The great Sir Richard Grenville, who examined the castle officially in 1583, in connexion with coast

defence, reports that the drawbridge is 'now gon, by reason that the seas have undermined and fretted out some part of the works whereon the bridg stood.' But men then living could remember it, so we may perhaps date its fall about 1520. Sir John Maclean, writing about 1875, says, 'The chasm is now 200 feet wide.' In September 1900 it appeared to me to be much wider, and an old shepherd told me he had seen fragments of masonry fall over the cliff. In a further report in 1593, Grenville says :—

'From the sea there are two landing places; against one of them is a wall with a gate in it, called the Iron Gate (because there was a gate of iron there); this wall . . . . is now somewhat ruined. . . . By the workes without this wall (being the landing place) four or five of the greatest sortes of shippes may, with most windes, ride, and lay their sides to the workes and land anie companie of men; the water being ther at the lowest ebb five fathom deep, and the ground in this bay before the rockes faire and sandy for a moringe.'

Leland continues :—'Ther is yn the Isle a prety Chapel with a Tumbe on the left syde. Ther ys also yn the Isle a Welle. . . . Also ther remayneth yn the Isle a Grownd quadrant walled as it were a Garden Plot. The Grownd of this Isle now nuryshyth Shepe and Conys.'

So in the ancient days, impregnable in situation, with its admirable landing-stage, inexhaustible spring, and extra-parochial chaplain, stood 'dark Dundagil by the Cornish sea.' 'Castrum Tyntagelle fortissimum ubi Arthurus fuit conceptus,' says William of Worcester, in 1478. 'There is but one entrance into it, and that through a strait Rock which three men shall be able to defend against the whole Power of the Kingdom,' says Geoffry of Monmouth, about 1150.

O Arthur, 'flower of kings,' as Joseph of Exeter calls thee, men deem it strange thou shouldst have grown from the valiant British chieftain of the sixth century into the glorious knight of the twelfth. But did not good Bishop Fisher, when preaching the funeral sermon of that most noble Lady, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, explain to his audience how the gallant knight Sir Lazarus dwelt in the castle of Bethany with his sisters the Ladies Martha and Mary? Ah that light, which in one sense, perchance, never was on sea or shore, how beautiful it is! And in another sense, yea and a true one, it was, is, and shall be there, so long as the surges chant their Te Deum around our island home. So live, Arthur, 'rex quondam rexque futurus,' and luckless King Mark, and Tristan and Iseult, in that mingling of love and death interpretated to us with incomparable splendour by the Magician of Bayreuth; and Gwenhwyvar, as the Welsh call her, with her 'knightliest of all knights,' and help to raise our commonplace of to-day which is still capable of heroic action, if not of immortal verse, to that high region where all the Muses sing.

And now our Antiquary sets out westward again; and with his characteristic aptitude for obtaining useful information, remarks: 'About *Camelford* are certen old mynes, wrought yn tymes past [this seems to follow naturally], but of what Metalle yt ys now onknowen.'

The general characteristic of the local yokel in all ages and places is that, as we express it in my own shire of Lincoln, he knows 'nowt aboot owt.' He frequently appears to be in profound ignorance even respecting the roads within a few miles of his own dwelling; and as for giving a stranger any general information of any kind, the very idea (again I find

my own local language the most handy) 'mazzles' him. However, this failure to add to his information evidently did not trouble Leland; and, having gone a mile from Tintagel church, he 'cam over a Brooke,' and saw 'a great Blak rok lyke an Islet yn the Se not far from the shore.' I notice that in a modern map this rock, which is near Trebarwith Strand, is called by the commonplace name 'Gull Rock,' a title bestowed on so many of these upstanding island rocks round the Cornish coast. But in Thomas Martyn's fine large map of the county, published in 1748, and dedicated to Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, this great 'Black rok' is named Otteral. I say, with the Oracle of the Pseudo-Zoroaster, 'Never change [so-called] barbarous names.' I have all a Semite's reverence for the name of anything, and the mystery therein contained; and I venture to explain *Otteral* as *Artur-als* ('Arthur's Cliff' or 'Rock'). I think Leland went from Tintagel to Wadebridge by the inland road; but, after the fashion of Hêrodotos, he speaks as if he had been at '*Porthissek* [= *Port Yzick*, 'the corn-port,' now Port Isaac], a Fisschar Village on *Severn* Shore,' where 'there is a Pere and sum socour for Fisschar Botes.' It is of course possible that he was at Port Isaac, but there is no touch of local colour in his words to show this. Such a name as Port Isaac reminds us of a bygone trade in '*Severn* Se,' and also of the large number of Cornish names and words concealed beneath an English dress. The word *maen* ('stone') is well to the front in this matter. Thus, two island-rocks much further west are known as 'The Man and his Man' = 'the Stone and the (other) Stone'; and such names once given, stories, which constitute a kind of pseudo-

folklore, arise to explain them. Leland is very precise about the places and distances on the road to '*Wadebrid.*' Thus, 'from *Dindagelle* to S. *Esse* Village a 4. Miles.' This is the place now called S. *Teath*, pronounced *Teth*, the *t* in 'saint' having been erroneously prefixed to the saint's name. Many of these Cornish saints are most modest in their intense historical retirement; but I think we encounter S. Esse again in the parish name S. *Erth*, in the extreme west of the county. Hals will have it that the name means 'Holy Earth,' *i.e.*, consecrated ground, a view I reject, agreeing with honest Tonkin, who identifies the lady with 'Sancta Hierytha.' This good creature, according to Camden, was 'calendered among the female saints,' and buried at Chettlehampton in Devon. Peace to her ashes!

'From S. *Esse* to *Trelill* Village 2. Miles.' *Trelill* is 'the Place of the Goats,' and even now in their tame state, how wonderfully Cornish goats can pass over rough and rocky ground and along the steep sloping edges of cliffs. I watched, in fear and trembling, two men and a dog chase a pair of goats along the east side of Boscastle Haven. The men were strong and active, and thought little of rocks and dangers. Where they could not go the dog, working for them with heart and soul, bravely ventured; but in the face of peril, from which he wisely shrank, and over slippery verges where he dared not go, the goats cantered with a careless grace and evident enjoyment of the whole business, and at length triumphantly disappeared on the very edge of the precipice round the corner in the direction of the Meachard. Our traveller next arrived at a place where one 'Master Carnsey hath a praty house, fair Ground, and praty

Wood about it.' Here he was evidently entertained, and would regale his host with the last piece of news from the capital; how Katherine Howard had gone the way of 'Anna Bolena,' and how His Grace was now 'King,' and not merely 'Lord,' of Ireland. Resuming his journey, another three miles brought him to where 'the River of *Alawne* [*i.e.*, the Alan, above noticed] rennith thorough *Wadebridge*.' This, the great river of the north coast, is in 'Sum Historyes cawled *Cablan*,' *i.e.*, *Cabm-elin* ('Bent-elbow'), from its course. We find the same word *cabm*, *cam* ('bent,' 'crooked') in *Cambeak*, the fine headland a little north of Boscastle. But the most usual name for this large river is *Camel*, *i.e.*, *Cabm-hail* ('the Large curved river'); and near its bank, a little above Wadebridge, stands the interesting church of Trevorder ('the Further-town'), now for many centuries called Eglos-hayle ('the Church-on-the-river'). Near this church can at certain times be seen, playing in the moonlight, the famous White Rabbit of Egloshayle, concerning which Mr Arthur Norway has so much to tell us, in his delightful *Highways and Byways in Devon and Cornwall*. I got into parle with an old woman of ninety who lived hard by, touching this same rabbit. She knew about it, but it was some time ere I could convince her of my earnestness and sincerity in the quest, for indeed I greatly desired to see it. However, at last the old lady relented, and was just about to impart to me some invaluable information, when her daughter-in-law, a stout, brawny matron of fifty, burst out laughing, and said that *she* believed in nothing but what she could see, a creed which has been triumphantly held by a certain class of fools in all ages. On this the mother-in-law

shrank into her shell, and said she was too tired to say more that evening. Thus the opportunity vanished. Country folk, like savages, are peculiarly sensitive to ridicule. The Welsh women have been laughed out of their tall hats. When a Matthew Arnold tells me, with all the dogmatic pomposity of ignorance, that 'Miracles do not occur,' I am not in the least impressed, for I am aware that he can't tell whether they occur or not, and that, by the wise laws of evidence, he who swears that which is true without knowing it to be true, may be convicted of perjury.

And now Leland rides up to the long bridge, and, meeting the local dragoman, is informed that—

> Wher as now *Wadebridge* is ther was a Fery 80. yeres syns, and Menne sumtyme passing over by Horse stoode often in great Jeopardie. Then one *Lovebone*, Vicar of Wadebridge, movid with pitie began the Bridge, and with great Paine and Studie, good People putting their Help thereto, finished it with xvij. fair and great uniform Arches of Stone. One [the Dragoman aforesaid] told me that the Fundation of certein of tharches was first sette on so quik sandy ground that *Lovebone* almost despairid to performe the Bridg ontyl such tyme as he laid Pakkes of Wolle for Fundation.'

A useful hint this, to bridge-makers. Bravo, Lovebone! About 1462, whilst York and Lancaster were busy plucking the leaves out of each other's roses, the worthy Vicar was most usefully employed in superintending the construction of this noble bridge, some 320 feet in length. And on this bridge we must take our leave of the Antiquary, who is about to set off to discover Padstow, which he says is four miles off,—in reality it is eight,—its proper name being, he tells us '*Adelstow. Latine Athelstani locus.*' So, leaving us this choice morsel of history and philology, he waves his hand and rides off.

STUDIES IN PAUSANIAS.

I.

Mr Gladstone once remarked to me that he valued the author of the *Itinerary of Greece* 'almost next after Homer.'[1] This opinion may seem to be somewhat paradoxical, and I will endeavour, in the following pages, to explain upon what it is founded. In the second century of our era that good old 'trudge-over' Pausanias, whose native land was Lydia, had visited and carefully studied many countries both of East and West. He was personally acquainted with much of Asia Minor, with Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He knew Rome and Southern Italy, and, apparently, Makedonia and Êpeiros. But his mature study was Greece proper, and he has given a description of it as it was in his day, which, in the words of Mr J. G. Frazer, 'will be read and studied so long as ancient Greece shall continue to engage the attention and awaken the interest of mankind.' The *Itinerary* consists of ten books, written in a style generally crabbed and often sadly obscure, and respectively devoted to (1) Attika, including Megara; (2) Argolis, including Korinth and Sikyôn; (3) Lakônikê (Lacônia); (4) Messênia; (5 and 6) Êlis; (7) Achaia; (8) Arkadia; (9)

[1] Vide *sup.*, p. 29.

Boiôtia, and (10) Phôkis. As a student of the past, an admirer of antiquity, a man of great learning, of very fair judgment, and of a distinctly religious turn of mind, Pausanias pays great attention to the shrines, cults, histories, and legends of the gods, demi-gods, and heroes. There was a magical and enchanted time in the morning of the Hellenic world, and he feels its influence very deeply. Homer sung two of its most famous episodes in deathless verse. Pausanias, who tramps reverently along, with his Homer in his pocket, tells us much of this same time in very sober and unimaginative prose; which is none the less effective because it is so simple, honest, and unadorned. Hence, to a great extent, the value which Mr Gladstone placed upon the *Itinerary*. Pausanias and Homer serve to illustrate and to explain each other. Of course this is only one feature in the work of Pausanias, for hardly any other writer has told us so much in so small a compass; but it is a very important feature, and one to which I shall recur; and any treatment of Pausanias which leaves this aspect of his labours unnoticed or quite imperfectly handled, is, in one respect at least, gravely deficient.

Greece in decay, but still beautiful, lay stretched out before the eyes of Pausanias. Her statesmen and warriors, the brief political glories of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had vanished as completely as the heroic forms of Thêseus and Agamemnôn; but the foreign storms which swept over her from the days of Philip to Domitian had likewise died away. The kindly emperors of the second century soothed her weary brow with gentle hands, built and rebuilt, and, vainly striving against fate, endeavoured to arrest decrepitude and to reanimate the spirit of an age that was

dead for evermore. Pausanias knew and felt this, and was deeply grateful to them for their goodness; and so he roamed along, thinking little of the manners and habits of the present, and still less of the hopes and expectations of the future, but mainly dreaming of that first great past to which I have referred, and also of that second great past, when the Mede would fain have crushed Hellas, and when the men of Marathôn and Thermopylai, and the great statesmen, painters, poets, sculptors, orators, flourished; and which ended in the fatal epoch when Epaminondas fell at the fateful grove of Pelagos, when the soul of Platôn soared to the gods and to the mighty dead, and when the dying eyes of the hero-coward Demosthenês were fixed, in a last agonized intensity, towards his native land.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that English scholarship is ceasing to devote itself to the endless manipulation of some dozen classical writers, in a sad neglect of scores of others. As a student of Pausanias for many years, I was truly pleased when a Cambridge scholar, Mr J. G. Frazer, the well known author of *The Golden Bough*, published an edition of the *Itinerary* which, I notice, everyone calls 'monumental,' a rather dubious and clumsy epithet, tending to remind us of some heavy structure, such as the elephantine pulpit which disfigures the nave of Peterborough Cathedral. Mr Frazer's great work, the outcome of many years of pleasant though arduous labour, consists of six volumes, the first containing an able Introduction and an excellent translation of Pausanias, whilst vols. ii.–v. consist of an elaborate commentary upon the text, vol. vi. concluding the book with a very complete index, The whole work must be taken and read with *The Golden Bough: A*

Study in Magic and Religion, the second edition of which has recently appeared. I make no excuse for referring here to these two books in some detail, both because Mr Frazer's standpoint in certain matters serves to illustrate my own by way of contrast; and also because, when speaking of Pausanias, it would be insulting to pass Mr Frazer's great achievements unnoticed. I have, moreover, the fear of Dr Bunglecrumpus before my eyes; for, were I silent respecting Mr Frazer, it would be promptly asserted that I had never heard of him, and probably was equally ignorant even of the Golden Bough.

II.

In order that no one may be able to say with justice that I do not fairly appreciate Mr Frazer's labours, I would observe that his work shows immense diligence and research in the illustration of the thousand-and-one historical details, generally more or less obscure, related or referred to by Pausanias; that it is adorned with excellent pictures, maps, and plans; that it is particularly strong in topography, the author having himself carefully explored much of the ground; and that it contains copious accounts of the theories and opinions of divers more or less famous archaeologists and art-critics, who, like the 'Spartans,' seed of the dragon's teeth sown by Kadmos, frequently fight with and slay each other. I regret that some of the notes, etc., are in very small print, but perhaps this was inevitable in so long a work. I am also sorry that Mr Frazer has not given Greek names throughout in their proper forms, which he might well have

done in a work meant for scholars and students. Why, for instance, should we hear about 'Ulysses' and 'Proserpine'? Pausanias uses no such names. And why should a Greek work be referred to as *De dea Syria*? Call it by its name, or give the name an English translation, if you will; but to employ a third language in such a case is ridiculous. It matters not what was the custom of the years gone by. We need not use fig-leaves as aprons. However, let us be thankful that Mr Frazer speaks of Zeus and Hêra, and so on, not of Jupiter and Juno. *Magna est veritas.* Despite Bunglecrumpus, we are proceeding on the right path, albeit but slowly.

But, to understand rightly the spirit in which Mr Frazer approaches a large part of Pausanias, including his references to archaic Hellas, it is necessary to revert to *The Golden Bough.* Mr Frazer was greatly struck, in the first place, by the strange cult which long obtained at the grove and sanctuary of Diâna Nemorencis, near the Alban Mount:—

> 'Those trees in whose dim shadow
> The ghastly priest doth reign,
> The priest who slew the slayer,
> And shall himself be slain.'

A runaway slave held the office, which each from time to time always obtained in the same way, namely, by succeeding in the attempt to break off a bough from a particular tree in the grove, and then slaying his predecessor in single combat. There year after year the wretched 'King of the Grove,' for the time being, reigned dismally. The use was in full force in the days of Pausanias, as he notes.[1] In his researches into the rationale of this grim priesthood,

[1] Paus., II. xxvii. 4.

Mr Frazer rolled the snowball of investigation till it amounted to three goodly volumes, containing some 1450 pages. His narrative gives a truly heartrending account of the needless miseries which man, in all ages, has brought upon himself and upon the unfortunate animals within his power, by an almost infinite variety of silly practices which Mr Frazer dignifies with the name of 'Magic.' In his first edition Mr Frazer held that in origin there is no difference between magic and religion, the former being a lower form of the latter. He has now discovered that there is 'a fundamental distinction' between them. With similar candour he refers to his little 'apprentice work, *Totemism*,' which, he tells us, 'was a rough piece of pioneering,' and contained 'a tendency, perhaps not unnatural, to treat as totems, or as connected with totemism, things which probably were neither the one nor the other.' The remark amply justifies my scepticism respecting divers alleged instances of totemism.[1] In illustrating the story of the 'King of the Grove,' Mr Frazer treats at length of Tree Worship, of the wretched position of archaic and of many other kings; of Tree Spirits, amongst whom he includes Adônis, Attis, Osiris, and Dionŷsos; of Corn Spirits, of killing gods, of Balder and the Mistletoe, and of divers matters more or less connected. His general conclusion is that the King of the Grove = the Tree Spirit = the Spirit of Vegetation, who must be killed ere he exhibits signs of decay, in order that the life of the world may be handed on in unimpaired vigour; and that 'the result of our enquiry is to make it probable that, down to the time of the Roman

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology*, 1898.

Empire. . . . the primitive worship of the Aryans was maintained nearly in its original form in the sacred grove at Nemi, ... and that the King of the Wood lived and died as an incarnation of the supreme Aryan god [*i.e.*, Jupiter, Zeus, etc.], whose life was in the mistletoe or Golden Bough.'

Mr Fraser adds in a note that 'Zeus and Jupiter have commonly been regarded as sky-gods [they have indeed], because their names are etymologically connected with the Sanscrit word for sky. The reason seems insufficient.' It would appear, from this pronouncement, that the etymological reason was the sole reason for this audacious sky-god theory of Zeus. If Zeus had chanced to be called Drûs, would not Mr Frazer have joyfully hailed the fact as an apt illustration of his character as a tree-god? As to religion, Mr Frazer's further investigations have satisfied him that it arose out of man's disgust at the failure of his so-called magic; a state of things which, he alleges, is shown by the present condition of the inhabitants of Central Australia. These people, he says, have no religion, being content with magic only. But at this point Mr Frazer has encountered a formidable antagonist, whose onslaught upon *The Golden Bough* must next be noticed.

Mr A. Lang has of late, in his *Making of Religion*, and otherwise, been dealing doughty blows on the side of the angels and against his old friend the unreligious anthropologist. In *The Fortnightly Review* (February, 1901) he has devoted his energies to an examination of Mr Frazer's theories anent the Golden Bough, King of the Wood, Magic, and Religion. The result is as follows:—

1. There is really no connexion between the Golden

Bough mentioned by Vergil, and any branch of any tree in the grove of the *Rex Nemorencis* near Aricia. 'After an interval of four hundred years, the golden bough of Vergil is only brought by Servius [his commentator] into connexion with the wood at Aricia, because Servius, and the public opinion of his age, knew about a branch there, and did not know anything about Vergil's branch of gold.' This is a very nasty jar *in limine*. Mr Lang notes that, at the outset of his work, Mr Frazer said, 'Tradition averred that the fatal branch [in the grove near Aricia] was that golden bough mentioned by Vergil.' But by the time he had got to p. 231 of vol. i., Mr Frazer says, roundly, that the Golden Bough did actually belong to a tree in the Arician grove. 'Here,' says Mr Lang, 'we remark the nimbleness [a happy term] of Mr Frazer's method.' What Mr Frazer styles 'the averment of tradition,' Mr Lang regards as 'the inference of the curious'; and, whatever it may be, Mr Frazer, carried away by enthusiasm for his theory, states it as a fact.

2. Whatever the Golden Bough was, it was not mistletoe. This appears from Vergil's account, and the story of Balder and the Mistletoe, which Mr Frazer considers at great length in this connexion, is not *ad rem.*

3. There is no real evidence that the fugitive slave, the King of the Arician grove, represented a Tree-spirit, or that the supreme Aryan god was ever so regarded. Mr Lang asks, naturally enough, 'Who, or what, can escape being a tree-spirit, if Zeus is one?'

4. The instance of the natives of Central Australia, far from proving Mr Frazer's theory of the origin of religion from the failure of magic, proves the contrary;

inasmuch as (1) The testimony of experts, quoted by Mr Lang, shows that they possessed 'an unborrowed religion'; and (2) 'Mr Frazer's own logic' is fatal to his theory. He says the failure of magic to bring rain and food produces religion. But Central Australia is particularly 'parched and barren.' Therefore, magic having failed, religion ought to flourish there. But, according to Mr Frazer, no religion exists there. Therefore, the failure of magic does not produce religion.

All these staggering blows on his theory Mr Frazer must reply to as best he can.

III.

The evidence produced by an enthusiastic advocate must always be carefully sifted, not on account of any suspicion of bad faith, but chiefly because the devotee of a theory can so easily deceive himself. I will give an instance in which Mr Frazer outstrips his facts, and we shall learn from it the caution to be exercised ere we assent to his conclusions. Apropos of the killing of kings, a circumstance which, in Mr Frazer's opinion, illustrates the killing of the Priest of the Arician grove of Diâna, as above noticed, Mr Frazer, under the heading 'Temporary Kings in Babylon,' writes as follows:—'In some places it appears [to him] that the people could not trust the king to remain in full bodily and mental vigour for more than a year [this was not the Arician use]; hence, at the end of a year's reign he was put to death, and a new king appointed to reign in his turn a year, and suffer death at the end of it.'

Now for some facts in support of this 'appearance.' But facts fail us, so we must fall back upon deductions. Mr Frazer continues:—

'At least this is the conclusion to which the following evidence points. According to the historian Berosus, who as a Babylonian priest spoke with ample knowledge [very true], there was annually celebrated in Babylon a festival called the Sacaea. It began on the sixteenth day of the month Lous, and lasted for five days. During these five days, masters and servants changed places, the servants giving orders and the masters obeying them. A prisoner condemned to death was dressed in the king's robes, seated on the king's throne, allowed to issue whatever commands he pleased, to eat, drink, and enjoy himself, and to lie with the king's concubines. But at the end of the five days he was stripped of his royal robes, scourged and hanged, or crucified.'[1]

As Mr Frazer notes, for 'crucified' we should probably read 'impaled.' He further says:—'The Babylonian custom, so far as appears from our authorities, does not date from before the Persian conquest of Babylon; but probably it was much older.'

To support Mr Frazer's contention, this custom should have come down from pre-historic times; for his contention is that first the king himself was put to death, in some places, *e.g.*, Babylôn, annually. Next, kings, finding this ceremony objectionable, delegated it to some criminal, already sentenced to death. But, in order to deceive the demon-power presiding over the sacrifice, and to make him believe that the luckless Regulus was indeed the true Rex, the Regulus had to be allowed for the nonce the powers and privileges above mentioned. Imagine, then, such a monarch as the mighty king whom we (wrongly) call Nebuchadnezzar, allowing a series of criminals, year

[1] *The Golden Bough*, ii. 24.

after year, to embrace the members of his harem! Such a thing, not being in the mathematics, is possible; but give me the absolute proof, say I. And, now, to 'our authorities.' In the first place, the reader may be surprised to learn that in no extant passage of his works does Bêrôsos (who would have been an excellent witness if he had had any testimony to give) say anything about this prisoner, whom I style the Regulus; and, further, no ancient writer represents Bêrôsos as having said anything about him. Athenaios (xiv. 44) in a familiar passage, mentions certain festivals at Rome, in Krêtê, and at Troizên, when masters and slaves changed places for the time being. He then continues:—'And Bèrôsos, in the First Book of his *Babylonian History*, states that on the sixteenth day of the [Makedonian] month Lôös, for five days at Babylôn a Festival is celebrated called Sakea, at which time slaves command their masters, and one of them rules over the house, clad in a kingly robe, and called Zôganês.'[1]

So much for Bêrôsos. But Mr Frazer quotes an obscure passage from Macrobius,[2] where some think that the reading *zanas*, a term there applied to 'animas sacratorum hominum,' should be corrected to ζωγάνας. Even this correction would not help him at all; for whilst there is nothing in Bêrôsos to show that the Zôganês was in any way 'consecrated' or 'holy,' it is clear from the account of the Festival that there was a Zôganês in each house; and even Mr Frazer does not contend that more than one person was put to death on these cheerful occasions.

[1] The Sumero-Akkadian *sagan*, Bab. *sakanu*, from Sum.-Ak. *saga*, 'head,' *i.e.*, the 'Head-man.'

[2] *Sat.*, III. vii. 6.

It is obvious, then, that the ordinary Zôganês, despite his kingly robe, was not executed; but Dion Chrysostomus, whom Mr Frazer refers to, but unfortunately does not quote, mentioned the prisoner in question. Dion, writing nearly 400 years after Bêrôsos, must, according to Mr Frazer, have quoted the Babylonian priest or—some one else, Ktêsias, a very doubtful witness, for choice. Ktêsias is here introduced because we read in the passage of Athenaios, 'Ktêsias, too, mentions this Festival in the Second Book of his *History of Persia.*' This finishes Mr Frazer's evidence. He begins by stating positively that Bêrôsos says so and so, and ends by himself proving to demonstration that we have absolutely no knowledge that the Babylonian priest ever said anything of the kind. It would be singular indeed if Athenaios had not mentioned such a remarkable custom when actually alluding to the Sakea. Were prisoners killed at these Slave-festivals in Krêtê and at Troizên? I do not believe they were, and I think Mr Frazer acts anything but fairly in such a manipulation of the evidence. I doubt not he sees with the eye of faith passages in Bêrôsos which are invisible to everyone else. We unfortunately are like good old Bernal Diez; we, for our sins, cannot behold S. James on his charger. Not one reader in a dozen would take the trouble to go carefully through a long note in small print, to look up the references, and to really weigh the evidence. Most people would simply have accepted the statement in the text, and believed that we possessed a full account of the Regulus, the license allowed him, and his tragic end, on the excellent authority of Bêrôsos.

In matters Semitic Mr Frazer chiefly relies on

Robertson Smith, and for the beliefs, etc., of the European Aryan, on Mannhardt. The agricultural labourer is the most conservative of men, and to trace through the ages his thoughts and customs is undoubtedly a deeply interesting and important study. Mr Frazer is also great at folk-tales, and when Pausanias gives him an opportunity, he quotes them largely. Thus, apropos of the tale of the robbery by Trophônios and Agamêdês of the treasury of Hyrieus,[1] he refers to twenty-eight stories from different lands, all relating to robberies more or less similar. The worst of it is that none of them in the least advance our knowledge and understanding of the text. Mr Frazer's view that Zeus and Dionŷsos are merely Tree-gods, I shall not further refer to. I have said my say about Dionŷsos;[2] and, in the opinion of more than one great authority, have completely made out my case.[3] Mr Frazer ignores the facts and arguments that conflict with his view, an easy, though somewhat ostrich-like method. The theory of Zeus,

> 'The resplendent heaven above,
> Which all men call unanimously Jove,'

as a mere Tree-god, is too grotesque for serious argument. Mr Frazer quotes Servius on *Georg.*, iii. 332, that 'every oak is sacred to Jove.' Well, every peacock was sacred to Hêra, but was she originally worshipped as a peacock?

[1] Paus., IX. xxxvii. 3.

[2] Vide R. B., Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, 1877–78.

[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 22.

IV.

Recurring to the period of archaic Hellas, of which by the aid of Pausanias we can see so much, yet veiled in morning mists and cloudy brilliance, let us next enquire what has Mr Frazer, as a commentator on the Lydian, to tell us concerning this heroic time. What, moreover, is his attitude towards Semitic influence in Hellas? for, unless this factor is rightly appreciated, the historic problem will remain unsolved. Let us take a few examples of his method. I quote his translation. In Book IX. i. 1 we read :—'The Boeotians, as a nation, got their name from Boeotus, who, they say, was a son of Itonus and the nymph Melanippe. . . . Some of the cities are called after men, but the greater part of them are called after women.'

On this Mr Frazer observes that 'the father of Boeotus was generally said to have been Poseidon,' and gives many useful references to this effect. Now, how much wiser is the student? What does it all mean? Why not say, with many authorities, that Boiôtia was so called from its cattle pastures, and that Boiôtus is merely an Eponym? This would at least explain something, and we could then pass on to a much deeper question, Why did some say that Boiôtos was the son of Itônos, and others that he was the son of Poseidôn? Here is a very good specimen of the problems which confront a commentator on Pausanias, and the answer is most instructive. Simply because Poseidôn and Itônos were really identical, the god's name being Πόσις Ἴτωνος = Ποσειδῶν, *i.e.*, 'Lord-of-the-Isle-of-Tân' (= Krêtê).[1] Mr Frazer may reply that he

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 119 *et seq.*

does not accept this derivation. Very well; but it is clear that, in this case, he cannot explain his Pausanias. We may next learn from the fact that a non-Aryan divinity, Poseidôn, is represented as being the sire of Boiôtos, that there must have been a strong non-Aryan element in Boiôtia. And so there was; it centres around the hero Kadmos,[1] respecting whom Mr Frazer remarks: 'The legends of the Phoenician descent of Cadmus and his transformation into a serpent have led some writers, as Movers and Baudissin, to regard him as a Phoenician serpent-god.' [2]

Now we understand what to expect from Mr Frazer. Even in the case of Kadmos, he does not admit Semitic influence in Hellas. He does not say in words that Movers and Baudissin are wrong, but they are mentioned in a tone of cold disbelief. How odd all this is at the end of the nineteenth century! It might reasonably have been supposed that such a work as Lenormant's *La Légende de Cadmus et les Établissements Pheniciens en Grèce*, not to mention a score of others, would have led any man to yield its rightful place to the Semitic element. Mr Frazer can give a laborious account of many an unimportant little incident which occurred in historic Greece; but, respecting the infinitely more important foreign influences which helped to shape the life and to mould the religion of Hellas in archaic times, he has nothing or next to nothing to tell us. But although silent on these matters, he has much to say on another class of subjects, *i.e.*, those which are concerned with the

[1] *Kadmos*=the Semitic *Qadmôn* ('the Oriental'), from *Qedem* ('the East').

[2] *Paus. Descript. of Greece*, v. 22–3.

doings and beliefs of savages, and men more or less barbarous, however remote in time and place. In all ancient writers except those of the very first rank, we frequently meet with remarks which, to the modern, with his accumulated knowledge and experience, are distinctly childish. Such is the observation of good Pausanias above quoted, that the greater part of Boiotian towns are called after women. It is a mere off-hand remark, occasioned by his thinking vaguely of divers nymphs and maidens, such as Tanagra, Alalkomenia, Arnê, Mideia, Larymna, etc., whom wiseacres had excogitated for 'aiteological' reasons, as the simplest way of explaining the origin of this or that town-name. But Mr Frazer takes the remark very seriously, and gravely observes:—'This may perhaps be a trace of the prevalence among the early Boeotians of the system of female kinship.' He then explains what this is, refers to M'Lennan, and hurries us off 'among the Pelew Islanders,' to let us see what they think and do. Curiously enough, he does not quote the classic passage on female kinship. Speaking of the Lykians, Hêrodotos says:—'They have one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother's and not the father's name. Ask a Lycian who he is, and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line.'[1]

But this quotation, so far as it goes, puts an end to any idea of Boiotian female kinship, in which Hêrodotos evidently did not believe.

Lastly, let us notice that Boiôtos was the son of Poseidôn–Itônos by 'the nymph Melanippe,' a name which means 'Black-mare.' Mr Frazer, with his

[1] Hêrod., i. 173, ap. Rawlinson.

usual classical erudition, quotes authors who said that her name was not Melanippê, but Arnê ('Lamb' or 'Sheep'). They had their reasons, I doubt not. But though Mr Frazer has nothing more to say anent Melanippê, and never seems even to dream that there is anything to explain in the passage, the careful student of Pausanias will learn much from this statement. He will remember how in the previous book Pausanias had told the famous story of the loves of Poseidôn and the 'Black (Μελαίνης) Dêmêtêr,' who vainly changed herself into a mare in order to avoid him. He will perceive at once how greatly this assists in fixing the identity of Poseidôn and Itônos; and if he wishes to study the tale at length, and to see the rival theories of Max Müller and Mannhardt alike refuted, I would refer him to my *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology*. The nymph Melanippê = Dêmêtêr Melainês, the Black-mare. I will not pursue this subject further here. Suffice it to show what a vast amount of archaic history, including important questions of race-contests and religion, lies hidden in this apparently very simple passage of Pausanias. There are scores of similar passages scattered throughout his work. What is wanted is some commentator who will combine and analyze the evidence. The mythic pedigrees require specially careful study. Even their variances and contradictions, which often perplexed Pausanias, frequently throw much light upon them, as in the present instance.

Take another instance of Mr Frazer's attitude towards Semitic influence in Hellas. In *Semitic Influence*, p. 89, I wrote:—'As all scholars admit that the Sk. Dyaus = Gk. Zeus, so are they equally clear that the Ph. Melqârth ('City-King') = Gk. Melikertês;

and this latter equation may stand as the corresponding illustrative example in the Aryo-Semitic school.'

I was wrong, however, not in the derivation of Melikertês, but in being ignorant that 'Camus, reverend sire,' still nourishes a scholar who doubts this elementary truth. Mr Frazer observes: 'Melicertes is supposed *by some* [italics mine] to be identical with the Phoenician Melcart.'[1] And he refers to Movers, J. de Witte, and Ed. Meyer as holding this odd opinion. He might have added to their number such an Aryanist as Max Müller, who speaks of 'foreign importations, such as, for instance, Melikertes.'[2] Shall we have a writer on English history remarking 'William I. is supposed by some to be identical with William the Conqueror?'

V.

We will next consider another standpoint from which to regard the archaic Hellas of Pausanias. At the commencement of his commentary on Book viii., *Arkadia*, Mr Frazer refers to M. Bérard's work,[3] remarking that the latter 'attempts to prove that Arcadian religions are to a large extent of Semitic origin, having been imported by Phoenician traders.'

He says further that M. Bérard 'argues that Lycaean Zeus was originally a Semitic Baal, whose worship was imported into Arcadia by the Phoenicians.'[4]

He evidently regards the subject as at best but unimportant, and refers the reader to a review of

[1] *P. D. G.*, ii. 548.

[2] *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, i. 219.

[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 29.

[4] *P. D .G.*, iv. 189.

M. Bérard's work by Mr E. E. Sikes. As this review[1] is both able and temperate, we shall do well to study it. Mr Sikes, whose standpoint is not that of Mr Frazer, observes that historians admit that the Phoenicians had settlements on the coast of Greece; and says it is probable that 'a certain amount of the Semitic religion . . . . became incorporated with the Hellenic religion.' He continues :—'Semitic influence has been pointed out in the mythology of Thebes (Cadmus and Europa, Harmonia, Heracles, etc.), Corinth (Aphrodite, Melicertes), Cythera (Aphrodite), Attica (myths of Theseus' combat with the Minotaur, etc.).'

He apparently admits all these instances, and says :—'Survivals of Oriental cults have been traced with more or less probability at Patrae, Sparta, Amyclae, and Olympia.'

This batch of cases, he seems to think, are not quite so certain. He further observes after a careful notice of details :—'On the whole it must be conceded that M. Bérard has made out a strong case for his Semitic theory, as far as Zeus Lycaeus is concerned; and if Zeus Laphystius (at Alos and in Boeotia) and Zeus Apomyius (at Olympia) are often identified with Phoenician Baals, there is at least as much probability for the same identification in the case of the Arcadian god.'

But, yet, he says, and not without justice, there are certain difficulties in the way. What is the historical or linguistic evidence of the fact? If by 'historical' is meant, What particular author relates it? it may be observed that (1) an infinity of facts of the past are necessarily accepted by all the world

[1] In *The Classical Review*, Feb. 1895.

quite independently of the testimony of any one historical writer; and (2) the far greater portion of the works of classical antiquity have perished. Except a few fragments, the literature of the Phoenicians and Qarthaginians has disappeared as though it had never been. What author was likely to chronicle the doings of this remote epoch, and how? As to linguistic evidence, it is far from wanting. Of course an opponent may reject a proposed derivation or any number of them; or, again, he may say, in accordance with the principles of Mr A. Lang, that because people have made mistakes in etymologies, therefore linguistic science is practically worthless. But refined common sense (not simple 'common sense,' so-called) will never agree to abandon etymology for any such reason. We do not deride astronomy because astronomers have frequently fallen into absurd errors. The direct linguistic evidence available in the present case consists of a number of names, more or less closely connected with Zeus Lykaios and his cult, which are of a Semitic character and which cannot receive any adequate explanation on the Aryan side.

Now M. Bérard, for whose brilliant work I have great admiration,[1] and with whose general contention that non-Aryans exercised a very considerable influence in Hellas I am in perfect accord, has in some points overstated his case. Thus, as Mr Sikes notes, he supposes that in Arkadia 'Originally there was a simple Pelasgic religion in which Pan and Selene, the sun and moon, were the only gods worshipped.'

Now, setting aside such parlous questions as, Who

[1] Vide my references to it in *Semitic Influence*.

were the Pelasgoi and what was their religion? and, Was Pan a sun-god?[1] the above theory is immensely improbable; and as I have often been falsely accused by Dr Bunglecrumpus and Prof. Von Poddingcoft of attempting to make everything Hellenic Semitic, just as the adherents of the Natural Phenomena theory of mythology were charged with 'turning everything into the sun,' I shall take this opportunity of re-stating my opinions on the question. Recently, when writing on constellation-figures as Greek coin-types, I said:—

'Such are a few instances of Greek constellation-figures as coin-types. How they got there is no legitimate cause for wonder. Their absence from the coins would have been truly remarkable. For the great historical fact underlying the whole matter is simply that at an early period, long before coined money, Semites skilled in letters, navigation, astronomy, etc., invaded Hellas; and that the Greeks, the quickest of mankind, promptly absorbed this knowledge, reproduced and bettered it. The Greeks themselves were not naturally stellar votaries. Their great Aryan divinities, Zeus, Hêra, Aïdôneus (=Pluto), Dêmêtêr, Hestia, Hephaistos, Apollo, Athêna, Artemis, Hermês, Pan, etc., do not appear as sky-figures. It is the Phoenician personages, Poseidôn (=the *Charioteer*), Hêraklês (=the *Kneeler*), Eshmûn (=the *Snake-holder*), Aphrodîtê (=the *Virgin*), Cepheus and his family, Arcas (=the *Bearward*), etc., with sacred animals of Western Asia, *e.g.*, the Bear, Serpent, Horse, Lion, Dog, Eagle, Dolphin, etc., that we find sphered on high.'[2]

I hold that the Arkadians, as part of an Indo-European (Aryan) nation, as of course had Aryan divinities, just as they had an Aryan language. Semitic divinities were intruders and in a minority,

[1] On this question there is much weighty authority on both sides.

[2] *Knowledge*, Feb. 1, 1901.

but, naturally enough, were constantly called by Aryan names. Zeus This or Hêra That is not necessarily an Aryan divivity, as most investigators now see clearly enough. But that out of the eleven great Aryan divinities whom I have just named (for I do not admit that either Hermês or any other of them is Semitic), only one—Pan—should have been worshipped in Arkadia at a certain period, is to me a preposterous idea. M. Bérard thus spoils his case by overstating it; and I gather that this circumstance has occasioned Mr Sikes to reject his view as a whole. At the same time I regard it as beyond reasonable doubt that M. Bérard has proved Zeus Lykaios to be a Phoenician Light-god under an Aryan name.

In connexion with the theory which sees Beast-gods everywhere, great efforts have been made to show that Lykaios means 'wolfish.' K. O. Müller, whose able study of Apollôn Lykaios[1] may still be very profitably consulted, is clear on the connexion of the epithet with *lux*, λύκη, λευκός, in which he is followed by many authorities, including MM. Immerwahr and Bérard. After noticing the strong connexion between Apollôn and the wolf, he remarks :—'It is not, however, to be supposed that the wolf was made use of as a symbol of Apollo merely from an accidental similarity of name, but it is not easy to discover what analogy even the lively imagination of the Greeks could have found between the wolf and light.'

This is rather to mis-state the problem. The Greeks found no analogy between the Wolf and Light, but a three-fold link connected the animal with Apollôn : (1) The wolf, as a symbol of darkness, produced and

[1] *Doric Race*, i. 325 *et seq.*

protected the god. Hence the she-wolf Lêtô, his mother; the wolves who guarded his treasures, the iron wolf of Delphoi, etc. (2) The wolf, as hostile and destructive, was specially connected with the destroying Apollôn; and (3) the play on words (λευκός—λύκος), always dear to symbolism. Hence the wolf on the coins of Argos,[1] where on the altar of Apollôn Lykaios burnt the fire that was said to have fallen from heaven. So the chorus in the *Seven against Thebes* urge the Light-god to be fierce as a wolf against the enemy. The symbolism of the Argos coin-wolf may be further illustrated by the radiant Dog (-star) on the coins of Keôs, where not the animal, but light, is the original idea. Apollôn Lykaios[2] being a Light-god, Zeus Lykaios must be the same. Mr Sikes, who believes in a Wolf-Zeus, says that 'the Wolf-god might still be Phoenician, as Robertson Smith shows that the belief in were-wolves was held by the Semites.' Very possibly, but until we have some sufficient evidence *aliter* respecting the cult of a Phoenician were-wolf-god, we need not trouble ourselves with this possibility. We require no further evidence to show the existence of Phoenician light-gods, solar and igneous Baals, who received human sacrifices down to a remarkably late period.

[1] 'The earliest coins take their type, the wolf, from the cultus of the Lycian Apollo' (Gardner, *Cat. Gk. Coins, Brit. Mus., Peloponnesus*, p. lii). Lykios is a variant of Lykaios.

[2] Macrobius (*Sat.*, I. xvii. 40) says that the cult of Apollôn and the Wolf obtained at Lykopolis in Upper Egypt, where Strabo (XVII. i. 40) also states that the wolf was worshipped. They appear to refer to the cult of the Lykopolitan Anepû (Anûbis) and his sacred animal the jackal. Similarly the Romans erroneously supposed that the 'latrator Anubis' was dog-headed.

VI.

Pausanias has preserved a pedigree of Arkadian kings from the autochthon Pelasgos down to historic times. This is well worthy of examination, both because it shows what was the opinion of antiquity on the matter; and also because it enables us, to some extent, to reconstruct the history of a prehistoric period. The mass of variant tradition was nowhere more puzzling to deal with than in the genealogies, as Pausanias himself feelingly notes. Immense efforts had been made by divers late writers to draw up harmonious chronological schemes, but with very poor success. The magnitude and intricacy of the problem overcame them. Thus, whilst they were all but unanimous that the Trojan War was a historical fact, they placed its occurrence in a period ranging from B.C. 1335 to B.C. 1149, the date 1183–4 being the one generally preferred. Such was the acerbity of the Bunglecrumpuses of his day, that poor Pausanius, to my great regret, does not even dare to give us the result of his careful researches touching the dates of Homer and Hêsiod.[1] While even Troy and Homer thus floated about in the misty ocean of the past, like Dêlos in the Aigaion, what chance was there for less famous places and persons? But the difficulties of the ancients in such matters need not deter us; and, as Mr Frazer notes, Von Gaertringen, in a work called *Zur arkadischen Königsliste des Pausanias*, has examined 'the historical worth' of the statements of Pausanias, and has come to the conclusion that the list 'was made

[1] Vide Paus., IX. xxx. 2.

up at a late date' by Rhianos, an Alexandrian grammarian of the third century B.C. As I have not read this book, I can pass no opinion upon its arguments. For me the statement of Pausanias, 'Such is the genealogy of the kings of Arcadia as I ascertained it by careful enquiry from the Arcadians,'[1] must suffice; and how Von Gaertringen brings in Rhianos and Sosibios, 'a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus,' I cannot imagine, unless indeed these antiquaries had made official researches at the instance of the Arkadians, the results of which were preserved in the archives of the latter. This seems very improbable, but, be it as it may, the Arkadians of the second century A.D. possessed a pedigree which purported to trace Arkadian kings back to Pelasgos; and this national genealogy I will now briefly examine.

1. *Pelasgos.*—The Arkadians told Pausanias that Pelasgos 'was the first man who lived in this land,' a statement which instantly raised a parlous question in the mind of the traveller; for, if Pelasgos lived by himself, how could he have been a ruler and king? But, if he lived with others, did they not get there as soon as he did? This conundrum I shall not attempt to solve; as Pausanias himself remarks on another occasion, 'Be it as it is and has been from the beginning.' He quotes the Samian poet Asios, cir. B.C. 700, that Pelasgos was the son of Gaia ('the Earth'). Others said he was the son of Zeus; in a word, he was the son of Heaven and Earth. M. Bérard, whose researches into this mythic period are of very high value, and who most justly compares the mythic histories of Arkadia and Boiôtia, would

[1] Paus., VIII. vi. 1.

connect the Arkadian Pelasgos with the Boiotian Pelagôn, the latter with the Semitic *Peleg* ('a River'), and both, by an ingenious argument, with Poseidôn.[1] But I cannot at present go so far. Pelasgos appears to me to be an Eponym of the Pelasgoi, and 'Pelasgic' to be, as Prof. Sayce observes, frequently the equivalent of 'pre-historic.' But that there was an ancient race called the Pelasgoi, and that it was non-Semitic, I regard as certain. Gladstone acutely points out a special connexion between the Homeric Arkadians and the Pelasgoi.[2] The Pelasgos of Pausanias is the sire of Lykâôn, and elsewhere[3] we find that the wife of Pelasgos and mother of Lykâôn was Meliboia, daughter of Ôkeanos. If Pelasgos = Poseidôn, as M. Bérard supposes, then this part of the pedigree is extremely simple; but such, as I think, not being the case, Meliboia appears as the link between the Aryan Pelasgos and the Semitic Lykâôn.[4] She is just one of those obscure mythological personages whom everybody passes over as unworthy of any special attention, whilst in reality they constantly supply the key to the situation. The latter part of her name means 'the Cow';[5] the former part is explained by such Phoenician derivatives as Meli-kertês and Meli-karthos, which stand for Mele(k)-qârtha ('City-king'). But Meli-boia is a queen, and the former part of the name therefore stands for *Meli*(*ket*), 'Queen.'[6] Meliboia is therefore

[1] Vide *Cultes Arcad.*, pp. 244–5.

[2] Vide *Juv. Mundi*, p. 72 *et seq.*

[3] Apollod., III. viii. 1.

[4] The reader should study M. Bérard's masterly analysis of the cult of Zeus Lykaios, to which very little can be added.

[5] Cf. Eu-boia, etc.

[6] Students are aware of the way in which the Greeks altered

'the Queen, the Cow,' whom we find alluded to elsewhere as ἡ Βαὰλ, ἡ Δάμαλις[1] (= Lat. *Juvenca*), 'She-Baal, the Cow,'[2] Astartê, 'called the Greatest' (Megistê), who 'put on her own head a bull's head as a mark of sovereignty.'[3] The union of Pelasgos and Meliboia = the intermingling of Aryan and Semitic religions in the country, with the result that the latter, representing the far higher civilization of the two, obtained for the time the upper hand, a fact mythically expressed by the statement that the issue of the alliance was—

2. *Lykâôn* ('the Man-of-light'). The votary of the Light-and-fire god, he who 'gave to [the Aryan] Zeus the surname of Lykaios,'[4] a translation of the Semitic Khamman or Hamon ('the Burning-one'). Human sacrifices are naturally un-Hellenic, and in Greece they are always connected with un-Hellenic divinities, *e.g.*, Dionŷsos. They inspire an intense horror, and legends of the wrath of the (Aryan) gods cluster round them. Pausanias contrasts Lykâôn with the pious Pelasgian Kekrôps of Athens, who termed the (Aryan) Zeus 'Supreme,' offered unbloody sacrifices, and decided in favour of the Aryan Athêna as against the Semitic Poseidôn; whereas 'Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the

and mangled Semitic names. Many illustrative instances will occur to them.

[1] LXX., in Tobit i. 5.

[2] A. V. 'The heifer Baal.'

[3] Sanchouniathôn, i. 7. All great divinities found in Hellas in early times who are unanthropomorphic are non-Hellenic; *e.g.*, the fish-tailed Poseidôn, the tauric Dionŷsos, etc. But such divinities often have Aryan names, *e.g.*, Zeus or Artemis So-and-so.

[4] Paus., VIII. ii. 1.

altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale; it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity.'[1]

Here we have the were-wolf story and the idea of transformation, but no wolf-god. The fiendish man becomes a savage beast, and his impiety is descanted on by various ancient writers, some saying that the babe in question was his son Nyktimos, others that it was his grandson Arkas. According to Phoenician principles, a son, especially an only son, was the most acceptable sacrifice. Pausanias mentions numerous sons of Lykâôn, many of whom are Eponyms of various Arkadian towns and villages. Thus Pallas builds Pallantion, Orestheus Oresthasion, Phigalos Phigaleia, Trapezeus Trapezous, Makareus (= Makar = Melqârth) Makaria, Thoknos Thoknia, Akakos Akakesion, Orchomenos Methydrion and Orchomenos (also a Boiotian town-name), Tegeatês Tegea, Matineus Mantineia, Kromos Kromoi, Trikolônos Trikolônoi, Hêraios Hêraia, Aliphêros Aliphêra, Lykeus (= Lykâôn, Lykos) Lykoa, and Mainalos Mainalos, 'which was of old the most renowned city in Arcadia.' Regarding Mount Lykaios and the neighbouring town of Lykosoura, which Pausanias declares to be the oldest of towns,[2] as the starting point of the Arkadian sway of Lykâôn, *i.e.*, of Phoenician influence in the country, it is noticeable that this sphere of influence, as indicated by the list of sons and towns, was at first confined, just as we should expect it would be, to the southern half of the land. And we next observe that, in proof of the general geographical character of the genealogy, not one of the twenty-four sons is described as having

[1] I quote Mr Frazer's translation. [2] Paus., VIII. xxxviii. 1.

any issue, but the pedigree is continued through Kallistô, the only daughter of Lykâôn. His youngest son, Oinôtros ('Vine-prop'), a name of thoroughly Semitic associations, is said by Pausanias to have led a colony to Italy.

The eldest son of Lykâôn was Nyktimos, 'l'Homme de la Nuit,' as M. Bérard calls him; and he well compares Nyktimos and Lykâôn with their Boiotian doublet Nykteus and Lykos, said to be brothers, for history, mythic or otherwise, always repeats itself with a difference. The Sun-fire-and-heaven-god and the Night-god are equally sire and son or brothers, as you please to regard them; and many of these obscurities of early Greek myth are greatly illuminated by the Phoenician writer known as Sanchouniathôn, although Philôn of Byblos has but preserved fragments of his writings, and that in a confused manner.[1] Nyktimos-Nykteus of Arkadia and Boiôtia is the Phoenician Atel ('the Darkness'), who, in one of the kosmogonies, is a son of heaven and earth and a brother of 'Ilos, who is called Kronos, and Betylos[2] (= Ph. Bêth-Êl, 'house of God'), and Dagôn' (= Poseidôn). Nyktimos is a translation of 'Atel,' but in Boiôtia we meet with him again, and his Phoenician name in a Hellenic form—Atlas. Says Pausanias: 'At Tanagra [= Tan-*ἀγρός*, 'the region of Tan,' *i.e.*, Poseidôn],[3] there is a place called

[1] Everyone writing on this subject should be familiar with Sanch., and with the labours of Bunsen and Lenormant on his works. Bunsen's researches (*Egypt's Place*, iv. 156–301), though erroneous in many details, are still of high value.

[2] This divinity is the god of the sacred Stone or Stones (*βαιτύλια*), the Kêph (cf. *Κηφᾶς*), whom we meet both in Arkadia and as a constellation-figure, Kêpheus (vide R. B., Jun, *Prim. Cons.*, i. 30).

[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 106; R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 188, 205.

Polus, where they say that Atlas sat and pondered the things under the earth and the things in heaven,' *i.e.*, the stars above and below the horizon. According to Sanchouniathôn, 'Kronos,[1] having conceived a suspicion of his own brother Atlas, cast him into a depth (*βάθος*) of earth and buried him.'

Light kills Darkness, which makes visible, and so upholds the stars in heaven. Βάθος signifies either 'height' or 'depth.' In the morning Darkness is hurled into the depth beneath the earth. At night it rises to the height of heaven; and Atlas thus, as Homer, quoted by Pausanias, says, 'Upholds the tall pillars which keep earth and sky asunder.' As Êl-Kronos slew Atel-Atlas, so, as noticed, one form of the legend said that Lykâôn slew Nyktimos. It will be observed that, naturally enough Nyktimos is not said to have founded any town.

3. *Kallistô.* The third generation is represented by Kallistô, an epithet which, as M. Bérard notes, celebrated both the 'goodness' and the 'beauty' of the goddess. Long ago, Otfried Müller showed that Kallistô = Artemis Kallistê; and this latter personage is no more the Aryan sister of Apollôn than is Artemis Ephesia, but a Semitic 'Reine-Mère,' also reduplicated, after the Semitic fashion, in a beautiful constellation, the *Great-bear* (= the 7 *Wain*-stars). Her Semitic name, of which Kallistê is a translation, is Noemâ; and, as Erebh-noemâ (= Gk. Eurynomê), 'Evening'- or 'Darkness-beautiful,' she is the mother of a beautiful daughter, Schachar ('the Morning-red'), Adâmâth ('the Rosy-one') = Andromeda. She is also called Qassiu-peaêr (= Kassiepeia), the 'Beauti-

[1] For an explanation of the name and myth of Kronos, vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, Part III. Sect. xiii.

ful,'[1] female reflection of the Semitic Zeus Qasios. So, we are told that Kassiepeia signified Kallonê[2] ('the Beauty') = Kallistô. The goddess being thus connected with the *Bear*-stars, the legend arose that she had been changed into a bear. But why? Then, a worthless aitiological story, which Pausanius repeats with some disdain, was invented. Zeus had an intrigue with Kallistô, whom thereupon the angry Hêra changed into a bear, an odd revenge, but one necessitated by the pre-existing link between Kallistô and this animal. To please Hêra, Artemis shot the Bear, which Zeus then 'changed into stars known as the great bear,' and saved the child, Arkas.

Mr Frazer remarks that some North American people call the same constellation the *Great-bear*. What if they do? But he says it is a 'curious coincidence.' So it may appear on first glance, but not afterwards. The bear was the most prominent wild animal in both regions, and the three 'tail stars' might well suggest a tail to almost anyone. With a certain school, any little superficial resemblance between distant savages and civilized nations is pounced upon as worthy to be noted; and the savage is dragged in by the head and shoulders to explain matters with which, in a vast number of instances, he is not in the least concerned. Commenting on the Kallistô story, Mr Lang says that K. O. Müller 'very nearly made the discovery that the gods of Greece were originally beasts.' He might just as well have said that Müller very nearly made the discovery that

[1] Cf. Heb. *peaêr*, 'beautiful,' 'rosy-faced.'

[2] Souidas, *in voc.* On these constellation-names, vide R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 38, 49.

two + two = five.[1] Nyktimos and Kallistô, two personages connected with night, naturally appear as brother and sister, children of the Light-power. The child of Kallistô is—

4. *Arkas* ('The Bright-one'). Day succeeds night; light darkness. M. Bérard compares Arkas with what may be his Boiotian doublet Le-archos, otherwise Klearchos, son of Athamas (= Tammuz), and slain by him, as was Arkas, in one version of the legend, by Lykâôn. According to Preller, 'Learchos ist wohl nur griechischer Name für den phönikischen Melikertes.'[2]

Learchos, however, in the Greek legend always appears as the brother of Melikertês, and is slain, whilst his brother escapes. The parallel in Sanchouniathôn is the slaughter by Kronos of his son Sadidos (= Schadid). However, Learchos, a name of which I have never seen any explanation, may be altogether unconnected with Arkas, which, like Kallistô, is a translation of a Semitic original. That the name *Arkas* was connected with *Arkos*, a variant of *Arktos*, 'par l'un de ces calembours populaires,' as M. Bérard would say, is quite possible; but that 'le héros-enfant' Arkas, son of the nocturnal Kallistô, is, as M. Bérard maintains, 'le dieu-soleil,' is certain. Reduplicated in constellational form, like his mother, he becomes Arktophylax (the *Bearward*). The Sun dies daily and yearly, and the grave of the Sun-god has often been shown. Arkas was wont to sink in death behind Mount Mainalos, and Pausanias quotes a Delphic oracle, which ordered his bones to be brought

[1] For full treatment of the constellational Kallistô and the *Arktos Megalê*, vide R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 256 *et seq.*

[2] Vide Roscher, *Lex.* In voc. *Learchos.*

to Mantineia. There his grave was shown, 'and the place where the grave of Arcas is they call the altars of the Sun.'[1]

Arkas 'mated not with a mortal woman,' but with a nymph called Eratô ('the Lovely') = Schachar-Adâmâth (vide *sup.*).

5. *The Sons of Arkas.* The eldest son of Arkas and Eratô was Azas or Azan, whose Boiotian doublet we meet with in Azeus.[2] 'The district of Azania was named after Azas'; and here for the first time we meet with the descendants of Lykâôn in connexion with northern Arkadia.[3] M. Bérard observes that we find Azan 'en Syrie, sous le nom d' Ἄζων, un fils de Melqart, fondateur d'Aza ou Gaza: le dieu solaire Aziz, *le fort*, donna naissance à tous ces héros. *Azzan* se retrouve dans l'onomastique hébraïque.'[4]

The word appears also in such names as Ilî-azza ('My-God-is-mighty'), Azi-Baal ('My-Strong-one-is-Baal'), etc.[5] The son of Azas was Kleitôr ('the Renowned'), who dwelt in Lykosoura, was the most powerful of the Arkadian kings of the time, and founded the town of Kleitôr in north-western Arkadia. His Boiotian doublet is Klymenos ('the Renowned'), sire of Azeus. It will be observed that there is no real contradiction here, because in the one case 'the Strong' is the sire of 'the Renowned,' and in the other 'the Renowned' is the sire of 'the Strong.' So, the Strong-sun of one day is the sire (predecessor) of the Renowned-sun of the next. Concerning Lykosoura, Pausanias makes this remarkable statement: 'Of all

[1] Paus., VIII. ix. 2. [2] Ib., IX. xxxvii. 1.
[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 120.
[4] *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 269, and authorities cited.
[5] Vide Hommel, *Anct. Heb. Trad.*, pp. 83, 219.

cities on earth, whether on the mainland or on islands, Lykosura is the oldest, and it was the first city that ever the sun beheld. The rest of mankind learned to build cities on its model.'[1]

Here is a nice *crux* for the commentators. How discreetly most of them, including Mr Frazer, pass it over in silence; or else tell us what Pausanias does not, that he thought it was the oldest city in Greece. He evidently repeats the Arkadian tradition and belief of his day. But why should Arkadians think a little town of theirs older than the immemorial cities of Egypt or of Babylonia? Let us examine the name of this famous Semitic settlement. The Greek *Our-a* = the Sem. *Eir* ('City'), which we find in Babylonian and Assyrian as *Ur*-u. Thus, Urušalim ('the City-of-Peace') = Jerusalem; Ur (Greek Οὐρ-ίη) of the Kasdim, *i.e.*, 'the City' of the Kasdim. The Babylonian *uru* or *eru* ('city') is a loan-word from the original Sumero-Akkadian *uru, eri* ('city'). Phoenicians and Hebrews were the children of the Euphratês Valley, and I can only suppose that some association with a primeval Ur, regarded as the most ancient of cities, had been handed down and on, and that every new *Ur* (*Oura*), especially one which was really of very great antiquity, so far as its own neighbourhood was concerned, was regarded as being practically a reduplication and representative of the primeval town.

Kleitôr is stated to have died childless, so we pass on to the second of the sons of Arkas and Eratô, Apheidas ('the Unsparing'),who is said to have ruled over the country centred by Tegea. He is merely a phase of Athamas, who slays his own children; and as Athamas weds Leukothea ('the White-goddess' =

[1] Paus., VIII. xxxviii. 1.

the Moon), so the daughter (successor) of the 'Unsparing-one,' the Devouring Sun-god, the Boiotian Zeus Laphystios ('the Gluttonous'), the burning Baal Kronos, is Leukônê ('the White-one').[1] These variant relationships between mythic personages are all equally true. Day, night, sun, moon, or dawn may equally stand to each other in the relation of parent, child, husband, wife, brother, or sister. But, observe the parallel between Phoenician influence in Arkadia on the one hand, and in Boiôtia and north-eastern Greece on the other. The son of Apheidas is Aleus; and similarly Athamas, 'in Ionic Tammas,'[2] *i.e.*, the Syrian Tammuz and Euphratean Duwuzi, founds Aleus in Phthiôtis.[3] Aleus ('the Redhot'),[4] a suitable name for the solar and burning Baal, established 'the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.'[5] We must not be misled here by the name 'Athêna.' The 'Burning Athêna' of Tegea is quite unconnected with the mighty Aryan daughter of Zeus, to whom the whole land of Attikê was sacred. She is Athêna Onka ('the Burning') of Thebes, whom all the ancient world knew was a Phoenician goddess. So Pausanias says:—'Against the view of those who think that Cadmus came to the land of Thebes from Egypt, and not from Phoenicia, is to be set the name of this Athena, for she is called by the Phoenician name of Onga.'[6]

[1] Paus., VIII. xliv. 7.

[2] K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, p. 156.

[3] Vide Strabo, IX. v. 8; R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 197 *et seq.*

[4] *Aleos = diapuros* ('red-hot,' Hêsychios).

[5] Paus., VIII. xlv. 3.

[6] Ib., IX. xii. 2. For authorities on the name Onga or Onka, vide Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, who gives a list of Arkadian and Boiotian names connected with it.

Mr Frazer gives a useful list of classical passages about Athêna Onka, and says that 'the ancient authorities are agreed that the name Onga or Onca is Phoenician.' But his anti-Semitic standpoint makes him reject this opinion, and the views of Movers, Maury, and divers other eminent moderns, and favour the suggestion 'that Onca may possibly be connected with ὀγκᾶσθαι, "to bray, roar."' The reason of this derivation is that 'Cadmus is said to have sacrificed to Athena Onga the cow which had guided him to Thebes'; and, as everyone knows, braying and roaring are the two sounds peculiar to that animal. Athêna the Brayer would make an excellent patron divinity for a certain section of 'untutored anthropologists.'

The third son of Arkas was Elatos ('the Pine'-man), who is said to have obtained Mount Kyllênê as his portion.[1] This marks the extension of Phoenician influence into the extreme north-east of Arkadia. M. Bérard notes that 'Πευκεύς, *l'homme des Pins*, est à Abdère une invocation d'Héraklès Alexicacos et Palaimon.'[2]

Another version of the genealogy said that the mother of Elatos was Leaneira, daughter of Amŷklas = Mikal, the celestial fire, the Kypriot and Phoenician Resheph ('the Thunder-bolt'),[3] mythic founder of the ancient town of Amŷklai in the Eurôtas valley.

6. *The children of Aleus.* The eldest son of Aleus was Lykourgos ('Light-slayer'), a reduplication of the nocturnal Nyktimos, and whose consort is naturally

[1] Paus., VIII. iv. 3.

[2] *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 268. For the connexion between Palaimôn and the Pine, vide also Paus., VIII. xlviii. 2.

[3] Vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 195.

the nocturnal Eurynomê.[1] His sons are Ankaios ('the Compelling'), who was slain by the Kalydonian boar, and Epochos ('the Horseman'). The horse is an animal specially connected both with Poseidôn and Astartê-Aphrodîtê. The son of Ankaios is Agapênôr ('the Manly'), who led the Arkadians to Troy. Legend said that on his homeward voyage he was storm-driven to Kypros, 'and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at old Paphos,'[2] thus curiously indicating his Phoenician descent and tendencies. According to Hêrodotos (vii. 90), some of the Kypriots were immigrants from Arkadia. The Arkadio-Kypriot legends continue: 'Afterwards Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent a robe to Athena Alea at Tegea.' 'The inscription on the offering' was:— 'This is the robe of Laodice: she dedicated it to her Athena.'

We meet here an instance of the Phoenician use of presenting a superb *peplos* to a goddess. Thus in *Il.* vi. Hekabê and the Trojan matrons present the Ilian Athêna (who was not the Greek goddess, whatever the poet may have thought)[3] with a superb Sidonian *peplos*, which was laid on the knees of the statue. The Syro-Phoenician goddess 'Huskharth ('Harmony'), the Chousarthis of Philôn's Greek version of Sanchouniathôn, Harmonia, the wife of Kadmos, and also called Thourô, 'the Aramaic form of *thôrah*, the law, ordinance, doctrine . . . . called in Syrian Dôtô (from *data*, *datô*, law),'[4] in Greek legend possessed a famous *peplos*. Says Pausanias (II. i. 7):— 'Doto has a holy sanctuary at Gabala, where is still

[1] Vide *sup.*, p. 122. [2] Paus., VIII. v. 2.
[3] Vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 161.
[4] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, iv. 283.

preserved the robe by which, as the Greeks say, Eriphyle was bribed to wrong her son Alcmaeon.'

This was the robe of Harmonia, as Pausanias says elsewhere :—'There is a city Amathus in Cyprus, in which there is an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite. They say that in it is preserved the necklace which was originally given to Harmonia, but was called the necklace of Eriphyle, because she accepted it as a bribe.'[1]

These splendidly worked robes of Semitic goddesses had a kosmic significance. Thus Pherekŷdês Syros says :—'Zas [=Zeus, who, in this Greeko-Phoenician writer, stands for the chief Semitic divinity] makes a mantle [=the *peplos* of Harmonia], and works on it [a representation of] Earth and Ôgênos [=Ôkeanos. Hêsychios] and the dwellings of Ôgênos.'[2]

Another son of Aleus was Kêpheus (=Ph. Kêph),[3] who, in the opinion of Pausanias (VIII. xxiii. 3) was the founder of Kaphyai in north-eastern Arkadia. He succeeded his sire at Tegea, and to him his patroness the Burning Athêna, in her character of Poliatis ('City-guardian'), granted the boon 'that Tegea should never be taken; and they say that the goddess cut off some of the hair of Medusa and gave him it as a means of guarding the city.'[4]

This mystic incident was commemorated on coins of the place, on some of which are shown—'Pallas and Cepheus, both armed, standing face to face, the goddess hands to the hero the head of Medusa; between them Sterope r., who holds up a vase to receive it.'[5]

[1] Paus., IX. xli. 2. [2] Ap. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, VI. ii. 9.
[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 121. [4] Paus., VIII. xlvii. 4.
[5] Gardner, *Cat. Gk. Coins, Brit. Mus.*, *Peloponnesus*, p. 202.

As I have said elsewhere:—'We have here a remarkable picture of a portion of the heavens. *Cepheus*, who was also Baal Tsephôn ('Lord-of-the-North'), from near the Pole, drops, as it were, *Medusa's Head* (*i.e.*, the star *Algol*, 'the Ghoul,' evidently so styled from its extraordinary variations in brilliancy) into the vase held up by *Sterope* ('the Bright' or 'Lightner'), one of the *Pleiades*, immediately beneath.'[1]

We observe how the constellation-figures are connected with this Phoenician pedigree; and that in progress of time Athêna Alea is, almost as of course, supposed to be the great Aryan goddess. The eldest Pleiad Maia, daughter of Atlas,[2] and nurse of Arkas, is equally connected with Arkadia. Tegeatês, son of Lykâôn, eponym of Tegea, is said to have married Maira ('the Sparkler'), *i.e.*, *Procyon*, *Canis Minor*. Pausanias (VIII. xlviii. 4) observes, 'They say that Maera was a daughter of Atlas.' Of course all stars are children of Atlas.

'Aleus had . . . . a daughter Auge' ('Solar-radiance'), a veritable 'Minerva virtus Solis,'[3] the 'Face' of Baal, as a Semite would say, and practically a reduplication of Athêna Alea. Such being the nature of Augê, she, naturally, and even necessarily, 'had an intrigue with' Hêraklês (*i.e.*, the Phoenician Harekhal, '*the* Traveller'), the Sun-god, 'when the latter came to Tegea.' Then follows the customary story about the angry father, the mother and babe put into a chest and thrown into the sea, their preservation, and all the rest of it,[4] mainly a result of regarding the matter anthropomorphically.

[1] *Knowledge*, Feb. 1901, p. 38.
[2] Vide *sup.*, p. 122.
[3] Vide Macrobius, *Sat.*, I. xvii. 70.
[4] Vide Paus., VIII. iv. 6.

This seems a suitable place to notice an objection made by Mr Sikes to M. Bérard's view of Hêraklês in connexion with Arkadia. Mr Sikes writes so fairly and temperately, that all he says is entitled to careful consideration. He first quotes M. Bérard that 'Arcadia is the country of Heracles; it is the scene of a great number of his exploits, and the Arcadians are his usual companions in all his enterprises.'

On this he observes:—

'Now it may be granted that Heracles became readily acclimatized in Arcadia; but there can be no doubt that he was a Theban god before he became Arcadian: in other words, Heracles, like Aphrodite, may have been originally Semitic,[1] but he was introduced into Arcadia after he had become hellenized; his presence in Arcadia has nothing to do with the assumed Phoenician occupation of that district.'

Mr Sikes' conclusion may be true if we admit his premisses, but what proof is there that Hêraklês was a Theban god 'before he became Arcadian'? He appears somewhat late in the mythic history of Thebes, but very early in the mythic history of Lakônikê as Argalos,[2] son of Amŷklas.[3] He fights his way up the country. In Lakônikê we meet with the note of discord between him and the Aryan Apollôn.[4] As the Phoenician influence advances towards Êlis, we hear of a dread contest between Hêraklês and the Aryan Aïdôneus at Pylos,[5]

[1] This is a great concession, and, considering the bigotry that still prevails on these matters, does Mr Sikes much credit.

[2] He is elsewhere called 'Archaleus, son of Phoinix' (vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 195), and, as Prof. Duncker says: 'Heracles is Archal, the labouring, striving, fighting Baal Melkarth of the Phoenicians' (*Hist. of Greece*, i. 63).

[3] Paus., III. i. 3. Vide *sup.* p. 128. [4] Vide Paus., III. i. 5.

[5] *Il.*, v. 398–402; Paus., VI. xxv. 3.

primarily the 'Gate' of the Under-world, forced by the conquering Sun-god. We now find him at Tegea, and so he works northwards to Stymphâlos, which, as we shall notice, was another Phoenician foundation. And, again, if Hêraklês were a Theban god 'before he became Arcadian,' we could not tell that his cult had not been independently introduced into Arkadia. The men of Marathôn, an undoubted Phoenician settlement, alleged 'that they were the first of the Greeks who deemed Hêraklês a god.'[1] But it stands to sense that wherever the Phoenicians established themselves, there they established their divinities; and unfortunately we are not yet able to furnish anything like an exact chronology of their early colonial enterprises.

7. *The children of Elatos.* According to M. Bérard, Elatos, who 'reigns on the high mountain,' is a phase of the triple Baal, 'l'infernal Apheidas et le fort Azan' being the other two phases. So at Korinth we find traces of a triple Zeus, one of whose images was called Chthonios (=Apheidas), another Hypsistos (=Elatos), whilst the third was nameless.[2] In these investigations dogmatism is out of the question in very many instances. What we have to ascertain is a sound general principle, and to balance probabilities of detail in its application. The general principle here is the existence of a strong Semitic element. In its application, name-study is all important. Of course there are those who tell us that this class of enquiry is worthless on account of divers uncertainties. One refutation of such an absurd view is that etymological results are, up to a certain point, thankfully accepted and admitted to be of the highest value

[1] Paus., I. xxxii. 4. [2] Ib., II. ii. 7.

by nearly all investigators. Thus, when Pausanias says:—'There is an Athenian township, Athmonia, the inhabitants of which say that their sanctuary of the Heavenly Goddess was founded by Porphyrion, who reigned before Actaeus,'[1] we all note that Porphyriôn ('the Purple-man'), the votary of Aphrodîtê Ourania, a Semitic divinity, as Mr Frazer fully allows, is 'a representative of a Phoenician settlement in Attica.' To assert that it is useless to attempt to explain such names as 'Porphyriôn' or 'Melikertês' is simply absurd; and we are therefore justified in believing that name-interpretation is of cardinal importance in these enquiries. The names of foreign personages, divine or human, would be dealt with by the Greeks in one of two ways, either translated, *e.g.*, 'Elatos,' or transliterated, *e.g.*, 'Melikertês'; and it is often very difficult to decide which course may have been adopted in a particular instance. We are bound to try a Greek explanation first, and in many instances our results are strikingly confirmed by the fact that it is just in these cases where a Greek explanation of a name fails, that a Semitic explanation is generally easy. Five sons of Elatos are recorded: Aipytos, Pereus, Kyllên, Ischys, and Stymphêlos, more properly Stymphâlos. Pereus, probably Porosh ('the Horseman'),[2] was sire of Neaira, probably Nair ('the Light'), a Face of Baal, who, according to one account, married Aleus ('the Red-hot').[3] Kyllên is a personification of Mt. Kyllênê. Aipytos is apparently 'the Man-of-the-height' (*aipus*), a suitable son for the 'celestial' Elatos. He is much connected with the Serpent, and is said to have been killed when

[1] Paus., I. xiv. 6. [2] Vide *sup.*, p. 129, Epochos.
[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 127.

out hunting by a *seps*, a kind of viper. He was buried near Mt. Kyllênê, and Pausanias (VIII. xvi. 2) says:—'I beheld the grave of Aepytus with great interest, because Homer mentions the tomb in his verses about the Arcadians. It is a mound of earth of no great size surrounded by a basement of stone.'

Aipytos married Euadnê ('the Very-holy'), daughter of 'Poseidôn, son of Kronos,' and the nymph Pitanê, 'en hébrew, *Peten* = vipera, aspis.'[1] Euadnê herself became the mother of Iamos ('the Healer')—connected in legend with *ia* ('a violet'), as the babe was said to have been found among violets—who was fed by serpents.[2] Euadnê = Ariadnê[3] ('the Virgin'), Britomartis, 'quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem,'[4] Diktynna (the 'Net'-goddess).[5] The usual Phoenician connexion with constellation-figures appears in the *Crown* of Ariadnê, the *Tress* of Ariadnê (afterwards bestowed on Berenîkê), and Ariadnê herself as the *Virgin*. Iamos is a variant of Asklêpios, the healing god connected with the Serpent, a creature so much esteemed by the Phoenicians, and equally prominent in the legend of Kadmos, so that 'some writers, as Movers and Baudissin, regard him as a Phoenician serpent-god.'[6]

Ischys ('the Strong') = the Semitic Kabîr. He was beloved by Korônis when her child Asklêpios was yet unborn, and both of them were therefore slain by Artemis, on behalf of Apollôn.[7] Here, as so

[1] Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 303.
[2] Vide Pindar, *Olymp.*, vi. 46 *et seq.*
[3] The Kretan ἀδνός = ἁγνός (Hêsych., *in voc.*),
[4] Solinus, xi. 8.
[5] Vide R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, pp. 32, 189.
[6] Frazer, *P. D. G.*, v. 23.
[7] Cf. Paus., VIII. iv. 3 with II. xxvi. 5.

often, we observe the discord between Phoenician personages and the Hellenic Aryan divinities. Esh-qal, Aish-qal or Aish-qel ('the Lively-fire'), a god of healing, and probably patron-divinity of Ashqelon, was called by the Greeks Êpios ('the Kindly'), and his wife (female reflection) Êpionê.[1] The equation Aishqel = Êpios becomes Asklêpios, and, in due time, the foreign god of healing is incorporated with the Hellenic system and made a son of Apollôn. But, as we see, traces of the original discord remain. The mother of Asklêpios loves the Phoenician, not the Hellene, and vengeance follows. In Phoenicia and at Qarthage the god was known as Eschmûn (Gk. Ἐσμοῦνος), 'le feu ardent du ciel, en même temps que le huitième [Sem. *sheminêth*] cabire, *esch khamôn*.'[2] The Greek word *korônê* has many meanings,[3] one of them being 'crow'; hence the story that some Korônis or other was turned into a crow. But Korônis, daughter of Phlegyas ('the Fiery-red') and mother of Asklêpios, probably originally bore some Semitic name connected with the word *keren* ('horn'), which reappears in a Greek form.

Stymphâlos, youngest son of Elatos, 'gave his name to the spring and to the city of Stymphalus, which is beside the spring.' According to the mythic pedigree, he represents the fifth Phoenician generation; and we thus obtain some indication of the time which it took Phoenician settlers to penetrate to the extreme north-east of Arkadia. There is no doubt about the origin of the name, which is very interesting. Thus, we find:—'*Stembal*, filius Masinissae Polyb. 37, 3, ubi

[1] Vide Paus., II. xxix. 7. [2] Lenormant, *Les Prim. Civ.*, ii. 336.
[3] Vide Hêsych., *in voc.*

editum est Στέμβανον (lege Στέμβαλον). Contractum est ex *Mastanabal*,'[1] 'prob. clypeus Baalis,'[2] = the peculiar Boiotian Buckler of Hêraklês, always found on the Boiotian coinage. *Stembalos* = Stymphâlos. This was the scene of the contest between Hêraklês and the Demon-birds, a myth brought from the Euphratês Valley.[3] The pedigree of the Arkadian kings is continued through Stymphâlos, whose son is Agamêdês. In Greek the name will mean 'the Very-wise,' whilst its Semitic signification would be 'the Great Measurer.'[4] Similarly, we meet with a Boiotian Agamêdês, a representative of Phoenician constructive ability. He, with his companion Trophônios (= Baal Trôphâ, 'the Lord of Cure'), builds the ancient sanctuary of Poseidôn at Mantineia,[5] the bridal-chamber of Alkmêna at Thebes,[6] the temple of Apollôn at Delphoi, and the treasury of Hyrieus.[7] The son of king Agamêdês is Kerkyôn[8] ('the Phallic'), a name connected with the Dionysiac ritual which the ancients supposed was brought into Greece by Melampous, son of Krêtheus ('the Kretan'), the founder of Iolkos, a famous Phoenician settlement in southern Thessaly near 'the Athamantic field,' and the name of which preserves the Phoenician Iol,[9] found also in Iolâos, the faithful comrade of Harekhal. Hêrodotos (ii. 49), after noticing certain Egyptian phallic ritual-customs, observes :—'My belief is that Melampous got his knowledge of them from Kadmos the

[1] Gesen., *Script. Ling. Ph.*, p. 414. [2] *Ib.*, p. 410.

[3] Vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 194 *et seq.*

[4] So Palamêdês=Baal-Middoh ('Lord of the Measure').

[5] Paus., VIII. x. 2. [6] Ib., IX. xi. 1. [7] Ib., IX. xxxvii. 3.

[8] Another Kerkyôn is called a son of Poseidôn (Ib., I. xiv. 3).

[9] 'Contractum ex Iubal, Iual, splendor Baalis' (Gesen., *Script. Ling. Ph.*, p. 409).

Tyrian, and the followers whom he brought from Phoenicia into the country which is now called Boiôtia.'

Krêtheus was a son of Aiolos,[1] and husband of Tyrô, the beloved of Poseidôn and daughter of Salmôneus,[2] another son of Aiolos, who deemed himself the equal of Zeus, imitated his thunder and lightning, and was consequently slain by him, an instance of the usual contest between the Aryan and non-Aryan powers. Such names as Tyrô (=Τύρος, Tyre) and Salmôneus[3] speak for themselves. Naturally enough, nothing particular is recorded of king Kerkyôn, who was succeeded by his son Hippothous ('the Swift-riding'). We find a similar pedigree near Eleusis, where an Hippothoös appears as the son of Poseidôn and Alopê, daughter of Kerkyôn.[4] Pausanias (VIII. v. 3) says:—'As Agapenor did not come home from Ilium,[5] the kingdom devolved on Hippothus, son of Cercyon, son of Agamedes, son of Stymphalus.'

We have now arrived at the eighth generation from Pelasgos and the time of the Trojan war; and, slight as the foregoing sketch of the pedigree of the descendants of Lykâôn is, it will suffice to show the method of treatment by which a considerable amount of the earlier history of Greece may be really recovered. The presence of an important Semitic element in the country is everywhere apparent; it does not depend upon a few doubtful names. We are only embarrassed

[1] 'Everything combines to raise the presumption of the Phoenicianism of the Aiolids to the rank of a rational conclusion' (Gladstone, *Juv. Mundi*, p. 137).

[2] Vide *Od.*, xi. 240–59.

[3] *Cf.* the Kretan Salmônê (*Acts* xxvii. 7), the Biblical Σαλμών, etc.

[4] Paus., I. xxxix. 3. Alopê is explained as 'a fountain in the Eleusinian territory' (Hêsych., *in voc.*).

[5] Vide *sup.*, p. 129.

by the abundance of the material, to the greater part of which, including river-names, local cults of unanthropomorphic divinities, and many other particulars, I have here made no reference. We see through the misty clouds of myth, peeps of actual history; and this slowly becomes clearer, until we can behold an historical Arkadia, as it pictured itself to the mind of the author of the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships*. If, without entering into any detail on the Homeric question, we say, with Sir R. C. Jebb—'Some memorable capture of a town in the Troad had probably been made by Greek warriors,'[1] and place this event cir. B.C. 1200, then we may provisionally date the Semitic inroad into Arkadia, represented by Lykâôn, his special god, and his doings, at cir. B.C. 1478. In *Il.* ii. we read of 'the tomb of Aipytos' near 'the steep mountain of Kyllênê,' of Pheneos, Orchomenos 'abounding in flocks,' Tegea, Mantineia, Stymphâlos and Parrhasiê, namely, the district including Phigaleia, Lykosoura, and Mt. Lykaios. Also of three other places, 'Rhipê and Stratiê and windy Enispê,' which Strabo (VIII. viii. 2), whose knowledge of Arkadia was very trifling, as is shown by his perfunctory account of it, remarks 'are difficult to discover.' In other words, he knew nothing about them. Pausanias (VIII. xxv. 7) alludes to the 'idle belief' that they 'were once on a time inhabited islands in the Ladon.' Leaving these three places out of account, we observe that the Arkadian contingent for the Trojan war was drawn solely from the east and south of the country; and, in exact accordance with this, the inhabitants of Psôphis, in the north-west, informed Pausanias (VIII. xxiv. 4) that their ancestors, on account of enmity with the Argive

[1] *Homer*, p. 147.

leaders, did not take part in the war. But though we possess quite sufficient material for a general reconstruction in outline of the history of Arkadia for the period between Lykâôn and the Trojan war, we have not yet met with any distinctly historical personage. Pausanias (VIII. v. 3) says of Hippothous :—

'They say that his life was marked by no particular event except that he set up his kingdom, not at Tegea, but at Trapezus.' He stands just on the boundary between the mythical and the very early historical period, and whether he is one of the last of the many mythical personages whose names are formed with Hippo-, in connexion with the horse as a foreign and sacred animal, and with Poseidon, the Horse-god; or whether he is one of the first of the many historical personages who bear this class of name, must at present be left undecided.[1] The statement that he made Trapezous his headquarters has a strictly historical, not mythical, suggestion. According to one account, the town derived its name from the 'altar' (*τράπεζα*) on which Lykâôn had offered human victims. Pausanias (VIII. xxxviii. 5), describing the precinct of Lykaian Zeus on Mt. Lykaios, says :—'On the topmost peak of the mountain there is an altar of Lycaean Zeus in the shape of a mound of earth. . . . In front of the altar, on the east, stand two pillars,[2] on which

[1] It is also to be observed that the Phoenician *hippo*, so frequent as a town name, means 'a place surrounded by walls' (vide Lenormant, *Anct. Hist. of the East*, ii. 163).

[2] Similar to those in the Temple at Jerusalem, at Tyre (Hêrod., ii. 44), at Hierâpolis (Lucian, *Peri tes Syriês Theou*, xxviii.), and in many other places, connected in the past with the obelisks of Egypt, and in the present with the minarets of the mosque. M. Bérard's treatment of Lykaian Zeus and his cult is very masterly, and should be carefully studied.

there used formerly to be gilded eagles. On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning.'

Upon this Mr Frazer observes:—'Human victims were sacrificed to Lycaean Zeus, as we learn from Theophrastus (quoted by Porphyry, *De abstin.*, ii. 27) and the pseudo-Plato (*Minos*, p. 315c.). From the guarded language in which Pausanius refers to the subject, we may perhaps infer that human sacrifices were still offered in his time.'[1]

This is exceedingly improbable, although certainly the Romans had very considerable difficulty in suppressing such sacrifices in several parts of the empire, *e.g.*, at Qarth-hadasth (Carthage). Hippothous was succeeded by his son Aipytos, whom I think we may fairly regard as an historical character. It is a distinct historical note that he receives the name of an earlier member of the family,[2] whether mythical or historical; and the only other incident related of him may also well have some historical foundation. He would enter into the secret and very sacred sanctuary of Poseidôn at Mantineia,[3] was struck with blindness, 'and died not long afterwards.'[4] Here, for the first time, we find a member of the house of Lykâôn behaving disrespectfully to a foreign divinity. According to the Phoenician mythic history, Kronos 'gave Bêrytos to Poseidôn and the Kabîrîm,'[5] who are closely connected; and the fate of Aipytos finds an historical parallel in that of those Persians and

[1] *P. D. G.*, iv. 386. [2] Vide *sup.*, p. 134. [3] Vide *sup.*, p. 137.

[4] Paus., VIII. v. 3. In another passage (VIII. x. 2), Pausanias says he 'immediately expired.'

[5] Sanch., i. 7.

Macedonians who, according to Pausanias (IX. XXV. 7), dared to enter a Boiotian sanctuary of the Kabîrîm, and, consequently, perished miserably. In either case, apparently, something actually occurred. Persons entered a certain holy place contrary to law and custom, and misfortune subsequently overtook them. Then the god-fearing 'put two and two together.' It is noticeable, moreover, that the sacred privacy of this Mantinean sanctuary of Poseidôn Hippios was actually in full force in the time of Pausanias, who says (VIII. X. 2):—'This sanctuary I, like all who have made mention of it, can only describe from hearsay. The present sanctuary was built by the Emperor Hadrian. He set overseers over the workmen that no man might look into the ancient sanctuary, and that none of its ruins might be removed, and he commanded them to build a wall round the new temple.'

In process of time Phoenicians in Greece became, in the main, Hellenized; their divinities either actually received the names of Greek gods and goddesses, or else names which were Greek in form, such as Poseidôn, Dionŷsos, Hêraklês, and Asklêpios. The earlier contest between Aryan and Semitic gods and their respective votaries became things of the past; and the crime of Aipytos is merely an instance of the not unfamiliar insolence of men towards the gods, of which the case of Uzziah, king of Judah, is a well known example. The son of Aipytos was Kypselos, also an historical name at Korinth, and 'in whose reign the Dorian host came back to Peloponnese.' He gave his daughter to the Heraklid Krêsphontês, and, after the murder of the latter, brought up Aipytos, his only surviving child,[1] a further illustra-

[1] Paus., IV. iii. 4.

tion of the historical character of the later bearers of the name Aipytos. The son of Krêsphontês succeeded to the Messenian throne, and avenged his father's murder. Kypselos was succeeded by his son Holaias, who joined in restoring his nephew Aipytos to Messênê. Holaias was the father of Boukoliôn, the father of Phialos, who attempted to call Phigaleia after himself. Pausanias (VIII. v. 5) continues :—'In the reign of Simus [a well known historical name], son of Phialus, the ancient wooden image of Black Demeter at Phigalia was destroyed by fire; which, as it turned out, was an omen that Simus himself was soon to die.'

This was evidently an historical event, and is elsewhere referred to by Pausanias (VIII. xlii. 1–3), when giving a full description of the famous horse-headed image of Dêmêtêr Hippia, the goddess beloved by Poseidôn Hippios.[1] In the time of Pompos, son of Simos, the men of Aigîna, an early important commercial centre, 'carried their wares up the country on the backs of beasts to Arcadia.' Pompos, in gratitude and to do them honour, called his son Aiginêtês, who was succeeded by his son Polymestôr, 'in whose reign the Lacedaemonians under Charillus, first invaded the territory of Tegea.' We are now on very fairly firm historical ground, and it is needless to trace the genealogy further.

To recapitulate: we have thus a genealogy consisting of—

1. *Pelasgos.* The autochthon, son of heaven and earth.

2. *Lykâôn* ('The Man-of-light'). Son of Meliket-

[1] For comment on these two non-Aryan divinites, vide Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 104 *et seq.*; R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 41 *et seq.*

Baalâth, introducer of a Semitic ritual, and with a Boiotian doublet Lykos. Founds Ur (Gk. = Oura, 'the City').

3. *Nyktimos* ('The Man-of-night'). The Phoenician Atel (= Gk. Atlas), with a Boiotian doublet Nykteus, and also appearing there as Atlas. His sister is—

Kallistô ('The Most-beautiful'). The Phoenician Noemâ, also known as Erebh-Noemâ (= Gk. Eurynomê), Aschthârth-Noemâ ('Astarte the Beautiful'),[1] Gk. Astynomê.

4. *Arkas* ('The Bright-one'). The Sun-god, who springs from kosmic darkness, is slain and lives again, whose bride is Schachar ('the Morning-red'), otherwise Adâmâth ('the Rosy,' 'Beautiful-one') = Gk. Eratô ('the Lovely'). Probable Boiotian doublet—Le-archos. His sons are :—

5. *Azas* ('The Strong'). Semitic Aziz, the powerful Sun-god.

Apheidas ('The Unsparing'). The chthonian and devouring Sun-god, connected with Leukônê ('the White-one'), as Athamas, his corresponding Boiotian phase, is with Leukothea ('The White-goddess'). Sire of Aleus (the 'Red-hot'), who founds the shrine of Alea, Onka ('The Burning'-goddess).

Elatos ('The Pine'-man). A Baal-schamên ('Lord-of-heaven') and of the heights, also descended from Mikal, the celestial fire; *cf.* Baal-Tamar ('Lord of the Palm'). Amongst his sons are—

6. *Aipytos* ('The Man-of-the-height'), husband of Euadnê ('the Virgin'), the Kretan Ariadnê-Britomartis, a non-Hellenic sea-goddess.[2]

[1] Vide Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, i. 544.

[2] Vide Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 101 *et seq.*; R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 156.

Ischys ('the Strong'). A Semitic Kabîr ('The Mighty'). Bunsen[1] notes how *Kabîr*, as a divine epithet, is made equivalent to Tsuduq ('the Righteous'); and, in Sanchouniathôn (i. 4), Sydyk, whose name is explained as 'Dikaios,' is described as the sire of the Kabîrîm and of Asklêpios, just as Ischys is beloved by the mother of Asklêpios, who, when formally enrolled in the Greek pantheon, is made the son of Apollôn.

Stymphâlos ('The Buckler-of-Baal'). Whose son is—

7. *Agamêdês* ('The Great-measurer'). A constructive Baal-Middoh, with a Boiotian doublet of the same name.

8. *Kerkyôn* ('The Phallic'). With a doublet near Eleusis.

9. *Hippothous* ('The Swift-riding'). Also with a doublet near Eleusis. One of the many horse-names found in a Phoenician connexion. At Athens Poseidôn Hippios is himself Erechtheus, the *Hêniochos* or 'Charioteer,' of the celestial sphere.

10. *Aipytos II.* Probably an historical character.

11. *Kypselos.* A known historical name.

12. *Holaias* or *Olaios.*

13. *Boukoliôn* ('The Herdsman'), 'A shepherd of the people.' The name occurs in *Il.* vi. 22.

14. *Phialos.* Changed the name of Phigaleia into Phialeia.

15. *Simos* ('Snub-nose'). An historical name. The famous image of Dêmêtêr Melainês burnt. This name, in Hebrew Harim, in Phoenician and Qarthaginian Harin or Arin, appears in its Semitic form as Arrhôn, sire of Psôphis (vide *inf.*, p. 190).

[1] *Egypt's Place*, iv. 227.

16. *Pompos* ('The Conducter'). Perhaps an epithet alluding to his safe-conducting the convoys of the Aiginetan merchants.

17. *Aiginêtês.* Name said to have been bestowed on account of the friendly intercourse with Aigîna.

18. *Polymestôr* ('The Rich'). In his time the Lacedaemonians invade Tegea.

19. *Aichmis* ('The Spearman'). Many of these names may be epithets; *cf.* those attached to the Ptolomies, or our 'Lackland,' or 'Longshanks.' Continued war with Lakedaimôn.

20. *Aristokratês.* Stoned to death for outraging the priestess of Artemis.

21. *Hiketas* ('The Suppliant'). Probably an allusion to entreaty on his part to be allowed to succeed to the throne.

22. *Aristokratês II.* Cir. B.C. 680–40. Stoned to death for accepting bribes from Lakedaimôn. 'By this crime the whole race of Cypselus forfeited the kingdom.' [1]

Towards the conclusion of his work M. Bérard gives, as the result of his researches, three stages in the religion of Arkadia:—

1. 'A very simple Pelasgic religion in which Pan and Selênê, sun and moon, were the only gods worshipped.' [2]

2. 'A Semitic religion spread and established itself in the Arcadian cantons. Zeus Lycaios replaced Pan on his mountain.'

3. 'This Oriental religion, separated into its elements (*décomposée*) by the analytic spirit of the Hellenes, gives birth to the anthropomorphic pantheon of the Arcadians.'

[1] Paus., VIII. v. 9.

[2] Vide *sup.*, p. 112.

Mr Sikes quotes this passage, and observes that practically we know nothing about the first period; and that 'the Semitic period' 'cannot be considered as proved or even probable,' if his criticisms are accepted. But these, effective enough in several instances where M. Bérard 'has tried to prove too much,' are quite innocuous on the main question. What says the genealogy itself on analysis? It gives with great clearness (1) a Pelasgic period; (2) a Semitic period of eight generations, from Lykâôn to Hippothous; and (3) a subsequent Hellenic period of thirteen generations. M. Bérard has not concerned himself with the pedigree as a whole, and its independent analysis is all the more in his favour. That Pan and Selênê were the only gods worshipped in the 'Pelasgic' period I do not for a moment believe. Lykâôn 'gave to Zeus the surname of Lycaean,' *i.e.*, he found the cult of Zeus established in the country, and gave the god a new (and Semitic) name. 'From time immemorial all the Arcadians have worshipped Artemis Hymnia,'[1] and so on. But this does not affect M. Bérard's main contention. Even as regards Pan, MM. Bérard and Immerwahr may be quite correct. Mr Sikes makes great efforts to prove that he is not solar in origin; and Prof. Roscher, whose opinion is entitled to much respect, says, 'Pan = Πάων, d.i. "der Weidende, Hüter der Heerden."'[2] I do not know any word *paôn* with this meaning; but, if the god's name did mean 'Herdsman' or 'Guardian of the herds,' the circumstance does not negative a solar origin. Attys was known throughout Asia Minor as 'the Shepherd of the bright stars,'[3] a

[1] Paus., VIII. v. 8. [2] *Pan als Allgott*, p. 56.
[3] Vide R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 310.

fact which equally shows that he was not a mere 'tree-spirit' or 'corn-spirit,' as Mr Frazer supposes,[1] and that it is natural enough to regard the sun as a shepherd or guardian of herds. 'Pan' is perhaps a variant of Παιάν, the 'Healer,' 'Saviour,' 'Deliverer.' In one of the Arkadian sanctuaries of Pan, Pausanius (VIII. xxxvii. 8) tells us, 'burns a fire that is never quenched'; a circumstance certainly suggestive of an igneous, if not solar, divinity. Mr Sikes, whilst refuting several weak suggestions anent a solar Pan, passes this point over. Nor, again, is the goat-form any fatal objection to a solar origin; for we meet with a solar Goat-god in the Euphratês Valley. Thus the efforts of Mannhardt, to whom Mr Sikes refers, to show that Pan 'was a wood spirit conceived of in the form of a goat,' are quite inconclusive. I am not arguing in favour of a solar Pan, but merely pointing out how little ground there is for Mr Sikes' sneer at the 'perpetual recrudescence of the solar theory in connexion with Pan, in spite of Mannhardt and Mr Frazer.' No doubt Corn-spirits and Tree-spirits, very well in their proper place, are popular just at present. There is a fashion in mythological opinions, just as in dress; but, in due course, the river subsides to its proper channel.

I have so far merely glanced at the evidence for 'the Semitic period' in Arkadia, confining myself mainly to the figures in the genealogy of kings. But numberless illustrations of a Semitic presence and influence present themselves in the pages of Pausanias, which are so crowded with interesting facts in such a small compass. Of course here, as elsewhere, the eye only sees what it has been taught to see. Thus, on

[1] *The Golden Bough*, ii. 130 *et seq.*

Mount Lykaios 'are bases of statues, but the statues are no longer there: an elegiac inscription on one of the bases states that the statue was that of Astyanax, and that he was of the stock of Arcas.'[1]

It is very frequently in these obscure, and apparently unimportant, little facts that Pausanias is so truly valuable. Mr Frazer takes no notice of the circumstance; his standpoint prevents him from referring to it. To him it is an altogether unimportant detail, requiring no explanation. Let us see. As noticed, the name of an adopted Semitic divinity would be either transliterated (often necessarily very imperfectly) or translated. . . Here we have a translation. Astyanax = 'City-king' = Melqârth = Melikertês; and since Astyanax-Melqârth 'was of the stock of Arcas,' therefore Arkas was a Phoenician. Here the same foreign name is translated in one instance and transliterated in another. We do not find Melikertês, *eo nomine*, in the Arkadia of Pausanias. The objector to etymological interpretation cannot plead ignorance of the meaning of the epithet 'Astyanax,' which, naturally enough, occurs in Apollodôros (II. vii. 8) as the name of a son of Hêraklês, the Phoenician Harekhal. The objector to a Semitic period in Arkadia may reply that he believes a Greek called Astyanax lived there at one time, or that the inscription was untrue or never existed, just as the untutored anthropologist may continue to assert that the Arkadians regarded themselves as the descendants of a Bear, who was the cub of a Vixen, who was the cub of a Wolf, who was, I presume, the cub of a Pelasgos, doubtless some other creature, perhaps a Stork (πελάργος), with the name

[1] Paus., VIII. xxxviii. 4.

of which some wiseacres of old connected the word. But science cares for none of these things. We patiently gather up the fragments of evidence, and piece them together; not separating them from each other, after Mr Lang's fashion, and then declaring that each item possesses little or no value.

At Thebes we meet with the name Haimôn, which, whether understood as 'the Skilful' (= δαίμων) or as 'the Bloody' (αἷμα), is very suitable to a Phoenician. So in Arkadia we find Haimôn, a son of Lykâôn, and the reputed founder of the town of Haimoniai, the site of which was near Megalopolis.[1]

Turning to Arkadian river-names, we find the same Semitic connexion. The Alpheios, largest river of Peloponnêsos, is the 'Ox-stream'; not far from it is Aliphêra ('Ox-town'), which, as noticed,[2] claimed a son of Lykâôn as its founder. According to Hêsychios, with the Phoenicians *alpha* means 'the head of an ox.' 'Thus Phoenicians call the ox,' says Plutarch.[3] The next chief river of Arkadia, the Ladôn, also a river-name in Êlis, supplies a still more interesting Semitic link. Pausanias (IX. x.) tells how Kadmos at Thebes slew a large serpent (δράκων) which guarded a sacred fountain; and Mr Frazer remarks:—'Since Pausanias describes this fountain as situated "higher up than the Ismenian sanctuary," it is clear that he identified the dragon-guarded spring of Ares with the spring of the Ismenus.'[4]

The name 'Ismênos' and its connected words originally merely represent the kindly Phoenician

[1] Paus., VIII. xliv. 1. [2] *Sup.*, p. 120.
[3] *Sympos.*, ix. p. 738; vide Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 20.
[4] *P. D. G.*, v. 43.

Fire-god Eshmûn, as Lenormant long since noted,[1] Eshmûn at Thebes being identified with Apollôn.[2] But, according to Pausanias, the original name of the river Ismênos was Ladôn; and the dragon who guarded the apples of the Hesperides was also called Ladôn. At Thebes, then, a dragon guarded a Ladôn river and spring. May we not assume that this dragon-guardian was also himself a Ladôn? Apropos of the Theban dragon, Mr Frazer gives us many instances, culled from various parts of the world, of 'the notion that water, especially the water of a spring, is guarded by a dragon or serpent'; but, as is frequently the case with writers of his school, he suggests no explanation of the belief. Now the unintelligible opinions of savages or of any other persons possess no interest for the rational mind. It is the reason why which is alone of importance. The evidence above adduced shows, I think, beyond any reasonable doubt that the Serpent (*Drakôn*) = the River itself. Ladôn the dragon is Ladôn the river. Test this view by the account of a third Arkadian stream. Pausanias (VIII. viii. 3), speaking of the alteration of the site of Mantineia, says:—'Antinoe, daughter of Cepheus, son of Aleus, in obedience to an oracle, removed the population to the present site, following the guidance of a snake (the kind of snake is not recorded). Therefore the river that flows by the present city got the name of Ophis. If I may judge from Homer's lines, I should say that the snake was a dragon.'

What actually happened in this case? For

[1] *Les Prem. Civ.*, i. 335. Lenormant spells it *Eschmûn*.

[2] 'Ismênios = Apollôn' (Hêsych., *in voc.*; in Paus., IX. x. 5, Ismênios is a son of Apollôn.

purposes of convenience, probably connected with the water supply, as in the instance of Old and New Sarum, the site of Mantineia was changed to a spot nearer the neighbouring river, which was then called by a name rendered in Greek by Ophis ('Snake'). What, then, was the original name of this river? Does not the whole evidence irresistibly answer 'Ladôn'? And, further, is it not equally clear that the word *ladôn* must, in some language, mean 'snake,' 'dragon,' or some connected creature? But it has no such meaning in Greek, therefore it is not a Greek word, merely a foreign word in a Greek dress. Such is our conclusion merely from the Greek side of the matter. The moment we turn to the Semitic side, this view is absolutely confirmed. We at once obtain the equation the Gk. *Ladôn* = Sem. *Ledhoah*, *Leṭoah* (Heb.), *A-lada* (Arab.), a reptile of some kind,[1] a crawling, gliding thing.[2] A river, then, it would seem, reminded man of the gliding motion of a snake; but is there any positive evidence of this? Certainly, when we go to the true fountain and real spring of so many of the ideas of the world :—

'*Hydra* is a variant reduplication of the *Cetus*-concept, the Storm-and-ocean monster. . . . In this aspect it is referred to in an archaic Akkadian hymn which speaks of "the monstrous snake" that "bears the yoke on its seven heads . . . the strong serpent of the sea." The quick-flowing rivers seem to have been compared by the Akkadai with the swift gliding of a huge glistening serpent, and so we arrive at the idea of the *Hid-tsirra* ("River-of-the-Snake"), which, as Prof. Sayce notes, develops into an Ôkeanos-stream, like the Norse Great

[1] Rendered 'lizard' in the A. V., *Lev.* xi. 30. The Vulgate reads *stellio* ('newt'), a water-creature.

[2] The reader may remember Turner's dracontic lizard in his 'Garden of the Hesperides.'

Serpent, the Midhgardhsormr ("the Serpent of Midgard," = Middle-garth = the Earth), the Weltum-spanner ("Stretcher-round-the-world.") [1]

In addition to this line of idea there is, of course, the case of actual water-snakes and other water-reptiles; these creatures may be regarded, and often very rightly, as the guardians of their haunts. There is the usual connexion between Phoenician Arkadia and the constellation-figures, Hêraklês and the serpent Ladôn (= *Drakôn*) reappearing in the celestial sphere.

Many Arkadian coins are of much interest in reference to Semitic influence in the country. Amongst these are :—

Kleitôr (earliest type, prior to B.C. 431). Horse-head and neck. Reference to the goddess called Dêmêtêr Hippia and Artemis Heurippa. The first of the 'famous sanctuaries' at Kleitôr was that of Dêmêtêr.[2] At the neighbouring town of Pheneos was a statue of Poseidôn Hippios, and near the town, according to a silly local tale, Artemis Heurippa had assisted Odysseus to find his mares. This coin-type, on the familiar principle of a part for the whole, represents the famous horse-headed Dêmêtêr of Phigaleia.[3]

'Naked horseman; one of the Dioscuri.'[4] The Dioskouroi were identified by the Greeks with the Phoenician Kabîrîm ('Mighty ones' = 'Great gods'). So Pausanias (VIII. xxi. 2), 'The Clitorians have also a sanctuary of the Dioscuri under the name of the Great Gods.'

Head of Hêlios radiate (B.C. 370-240). There is

[1] R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 104–5, and authorities cited. Vide *Ib.*, ii. 203–4.

[2] Paus., VIII. xxi. 2 [3] Vide Ib., VIII. xlii.; *sup.*, p. 109.

[4] Gardner, *Cat. Gk. Coins, Brit. Mus., Peloponnesus*, p. 179.

no account of any special cult of Hêlios at Kleitôr, but the second of the 'most famous sanctuaries' there was that of Asklêpios, who, from the radiance that surrounded him, was called by the Dorians Aiglâêr, like Apollôn Aiglêtês. There can be little doubt but that this Kleitorian Hêlios = Asklêpios.

Mantineia (earliest type, prior to B.C. 471). The Bear of Kallistô.

Also (B.C. 431–370) the Dioskouroi (= Kabîrîm); and Bearded-head in helmet, according to Mr Gardner, either Lykâôn or Arkas.

Orchomenos (B.C. 370–300). Kalistô 'seated, falling back, pierced by an arrow; behind her, young Arcas stretching out his arms.'

Stymphâlos (B.C. 431–370). 'Head of young Herakles in lion's skin.' Rev., 'Head and neck of crested bird.' The contest of Hêraklês with the Stymphalian Birds had its prototype in the fight between the Babylonian Merôdach (Marduk) and the three Demon-birds; this originally represented the contest between the Sun-god and the Clouds of storm and darkness. This simple nature-myth had already in the Euphratês Valley been transferred to the starry skies. The Stymphalian Birds are generally represented in art as three in number; and now on our own celestial planisphere, *Hêraklês*, the kneeling *King* discharges his arrow (the constellation *Oïstos-Sagitta*) at the three Birds, the Eagle (= *Aquila*), the Kite (= *Ornis* = *Cygnus*) and the Vulture (= *Lyra*).[1] Thus we find another batch of constellations connected with Arkadia.

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 234–35; ii. 148, fig. 2. The Babylonian Celestial Sphere; R. B., Jun., in *Knowledge*, Feb. 1, 1901, p. 36.

VIII.

The relative merits of a Semitic or of an anti-Semitic view of archaic Arkadia will also appear on an examination of the evidence respecting one of the singular goddesses of the country. No town occupies so prominent a position in connexion with early Arkadian coinage as Hêraia. Before cir. B.C. 480, the normal Heraian coin-type is the head of a goddess, whom Mr Gardner, in all instances but one, calls Hêra, and in the remaining case 'Hera or Artemis.' The Reverse shows 'ER' or 'ERA,' sometimes in archaic letters, and sometimes written Semitically from right to left. From B.C. 480 to 417 the general Arkadian coinage was struck at Hêraia; and Mr Gardner observes:—'In the absence of historical evidence it is impossible to say what claim the people of Heraea possessed, to issue money in the name of the Arcadians.'[1]

However, the circumstance shows the importance of the town, which, according to Pausanias (VIII. xxvi. 1), took its name, not from Hêra, but from Hêraieus, son of Lykâôn. We may dismiss this Eponym, but the circumstance is interesting as showing local opinion and tradition, which thus dissociated the foundation of the place from the Aryan goddess, and associated it with the Semitic Lykâôn, contrary to what the name, on the face of it, would suggest. Pausanias further states—'Of the temple of Hera the columns and some ruins still remain.' Mr. Frazer quotes Strabo to the effect that 'the city of Heraea was founded by the Spartan king, Cleombrotus or Cleonymus.'[2]

[1] *Cat. Gk. Coins, Brit. Mus., Peloponnesus*, p. lviii.

[2] *P. D. G.*, iv. 296.

This appeared so very improbable that I referred to the passage, and found that Strabo, always a very poor authority on matters Arkadian, says that Hêraia was founded 'during the reign of Cleombrotus, or Cleonymus.'[1] Here, at all events, we get rid of a Spartan foundation; but, who are the kings referred to? The well known Lacedaemonian kings of these names lived much too late to have been reigning at the founding of Hêraia. Strabo (VIII. viii. 2) further says that in his time, Hêraia and eight other Arkadian towns he mentions, 'either exist no longer, or traces and signs only of their existence are visible.' We see from the account in Pausanias that Strabo had no practical knowledge of the country, and have now got rid of Hêraieus, Hêra, Kleombrotos and Kleônymos as reputed founders of the town, and must try elsewhere. The cult of the Hellenic Hêra was not at all prominent in Arkadia, but I admit that the name 'Hêraia' was ultimately connected with her, and that the ruined temple above mentioned had been probably associated with her worship. At the same time, it is to be observed that only one other Arkadian shrine of Hêra is named by Pausanias. How, then, did Hêraia originally obtain its name? As regards its founding, we need not suppose that the towns of western Arkadia are later in date than the eastern towns which appear in the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships*.[2]

We have already met with a Semitic goddess called Erebh or Erev, whose full title is Erebh-noemâ ('Darkness-beautiful') = Gk. Eurynomê.[3] I have said elsewhere:—

'As the darkness of night is necessarily connected with

[1] Strabo, VIII. iii. 2. [2] Vide *sup.*, p. 139. [3] Vide *sup.*, p. 122.

the departure of the sun, the Babylonio-Assyrian word *eribu* = "sunset" (*i.e.*, darkness), the verb *eribu* meaning "to set" or "descend"—as the sun. Hence the Heb. *erebh*, "evening"; the Greek Ἔρεβος, meaning primarily the gloom after sunset, and secondarily the gloom of the Under-world; *Eurôpê*, *i.e.*, the west or sunset side of the world; *Arab*, the dweller *west* of the Euphratês Valley. Thus the Cave of Skyllê is said to front "towards the west, to Erebos" (*Od.*, xii. 81).'[1]

Here we find the goddess Eurôpê, 'personification de l'Astarte phénicienne,'[2] daughter of Phoinix, or of the Phoenician king Agênôr ('the Mighty' = Baal), carried away westward and followed by her brother Kadmos ('the Easterner'), who at once in the myths and legends, represents (1) the Sun, (2) a distinct Semitic divinity, and (3) Phoenician influence in the West. The goddess Erebh or Erev[3] reappears as the Kretan EuRôPê, who is represented on the coins of Gortŷna as seated in a tree; or, again, as the Hêra (= Noemâ)[4] of Philôn's Greek translation of Sanchouniathôn. The tree in which she is seated represents the Western Grove of Darkness, the Homeric tall black poplars and willows of Persephonê :—

'The sacred groves of the queen of the Under-world, who is herself both bright and dark, are composed of poplars and willows. . . . The poplar is both black (as in this instance) and white, λένκη, *populus alba*, sacred to the solar Hêraklês; and the willow ἰτέα, *salix Babylonica*, is similarly both black (μέλαινα) and white. For the mythic groves of east

[1] R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 29.

[2] Lenormant, *Les Prem. Civ.*, ii. 317, and authorities cited.

[3] It will be remembered that alike in Semitic and Hellenic there is a special connexion between *b* and *v*. Thus late Greek writers use B for the Latin V, and in modern Greek *b* is pronounced *v*.

[4] Vide Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, i. 544; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, iv. 250.

and west[1] are both black and white (light, bright); the eastern grove black ere dawn, the western grove black after sunset.'[2]

The name Erebh is translated by the Greek Melaina or Melanis, and the goddess reappears in Arkadia as 'the Black Dêmêtêr'[3] in one place and 'the Black Aphrodîtê'[4] (= Astartê) in another. Near Orchomenos her image, called an Artemis, stood in a great cedar, like the Kretan Eurôpê in her tree. Hence she was called 'the Cedar Goddess.'[5] The Greeks applied the name 'Artemis' to foreign divinities in the wildest way; witness the 'Great Artemis' of Ephesos; and until scholars recognize the simple fact that an Hellenic name by no means necessarily covers an Aryan and Hellenic divinity, much of so-called mythology will never be understood. As the goddess Erebh-Eurôpê has bestowed her name on a continent, she may well have given it to a town; just as her Phoenician *confrère* Harekhal-Hêraklês has bestowed one or other of his names on many a locality. On the whole, therefore, I regard it as most probable that Hêraia was originally the town of Erev; and that the 'Er' on the earliest coins of the place is a reminiscence of the fact. That the goddess Erebh was by the Greeks connected or identified with their Hêra I can well believe; but yet, at the same time, the connexion between Hêra and the town of Hêraia is by no means a strong one. Thus, Mr Gardner, when speaking of a female head on a coin issued at

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *The Unicorn*, p. 87 *et seq.*; *Eridanus, River and Constellation*, sec. xxii.; *sup.*, p. 24.

[2] R. B., Jun., *The Myth of Kirkê*, pp. 106–7.

[3] Paus., VIII. xlii. 3.

[4] Ib., VIII. vi. 2.

[5] Ib., VIII. xiii. 2.

Hêraia, and rejecting the view that it represented a Despoina, remarks :—'It stands far more probably for Artemis, whose head appears in the place of that of Hera on all but the very early coins of Heraea. *This is a curious fact* [italics mine], since we do not know that there was a temple of Artemis at Heraea.'

The reason of this 'curious fact' will appear in the sequel. The Semitic sea-god Poseidôn is often represented as half-man, half-fish or other marine creature. In this form he appears on the coins of Arvad (Arados), of Ashqelon, and of the Kretan Itanos, a town of Phoenician foundation. He is thus portrayed on a Cornetan vase[1] on the great occasion of his contest with Athêna for Athens.[2] His consort is the Fish-goddess, specially worshipped along the Syrian seaboard, Atar-ati, Gk. Atargatis.[3] Lucian, or whoever else may have written the monograph *On the Syrian Goddess*, says (sec. xiv.) :—'I saw a statue of Derketô, and a strange sight it is, half-woman, while the half from thigh to toe extends as the tail of a fish.'

This Fish-goddess, Aphrodîtê Einalia, is a phase of Astartê. So Pausanias (I. xiv. 6) :—'The first people to worship the Heavenly Goddess [Aphrodîtê Ourania, = Aschthârth Melekhet Haschâmaîm] were the Assyrians, and next to them were the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus and the Phoenicians of Ascalon in Palestine. The Cytherians learnt the worship from the Phoenicians.' Derketô was called a daughter of Aphrodîtê ; and Diogenîtês Erithrâkos related that

[1] Figured in Roscher, *Lex.*, p. 1305.

[2] For detail and explanation of the great cause Athêna *v.* Poseidôn, vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 100 *et seq.*

[3] (A)-targatis = Derketô.

Aphrodîtê assumed the form of a fish in the Euphratês.[1] So Manilius :—

> 'Scilicet in piscem sese Cytherea novavit,
> Cum Babyloniacas submersa profugit in undas.'[2]

In truth, as I have shown elsewhere, the Euphratês Valley is the original home of these piscine divinities ; and let us now, following in the steps of good Pausanias, pursue our Eurôpê, Erebh-noemâ, into her special Arkadian retreat. He says (as usual I quote the excellent translation of Mr Frazer) :—

'About twelve furlongs above Phigalia there are warm baths, and not far from them the Lymax falls into the Neda. At the meeting of the streams is the sanctuary of Eurynome, hallowed from of old, and not easily accessible on account of the rugged nature of the place: a thick wood of cypresses grows round it. The Phigalian people are persuaded that Eurynome is a surname of Artemis; but those of them who are depositaries of ancient traditions say that Eurynome was that daughter of Ocean, of whom Homer makes mention in the *Iliad*, where he describes how in company with Thetis she received Hephaestus. They open the sanctuary of Eurynome on the same day every year; but it is against their rule to open it at any other time. On that occasion they offer both public and private sacrifices. I did not happen to arrive at the season of the festival, nor did I see the image of Eurynome; but I was told by the Phigalians that the image, which is of wood, is bound fast by golden chains, and that it represents a woman to the hips, but below that a fish. Now if she is a daughter of Ocean, and dwells with Thetis in the depths of the sea, the fish might be a sort of emblem of her; but if she were Artemis, she could not with any show of probability be represented by such a figure.'[3]

An interesting, valuable, and most instructive passage, and how perfectly comprehensible in the

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 115.

[2] *Astronomicon*, iv. 580–1.

[3] Paus., VIII. xli. 4.

light of what has been already said. Now, mark how the Anti-Semite deals with it. Mr Frazer's only comment is as follows :—'If Eurynome was, as the natives affirmed, a form of Artemis, her curious fish-tailed image may perhaps be explained by the relation in which Artemis stood to water, evinced by her common title "The Lady of the Lake." *Cp.* L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, ii. p. 429 *sq.*'[1]

First, let us correct an unintentional misrepresentation. It was not the natives of Phigaleia as a body who said that this Eurynomê was Artemis, but only those of them who knew least upon the subject. But, is it not apparent how barren this comment is? How much more Pausanias knew about the matter than his great modern commentator. His sound instinct utterly rejected the figment that such a creature could really be an Artemis. That Eurynomê was 'The Lady of the Lake' is clear enough. I will give M. Bérard's translation of a passage in Diodôros (II. iv. 2–5) in illustration :—'En Syrie est une ville nommée Ascalon, et près de là, un grand lac profond et très poissonneux : sur les bords de ce lac est le téménos d'une déesse étrange, que les Syriens nomment Dercéto ; elle a le visage d'une femme et tout le reste du corps d'un poisson.'[2]

So in Athenaios (viii. 37) is preserved some wild legend about the goddess, and we read :—'But Atergatis (as Xanthos the Lydian says) being taken prisoner by Mopsos, king of Lydia, was drowned in the lake near Askalon.'

Again, as I say elsewhere[3] :—'Ktêsias of Knidos, the famous physician, who is said to have returned to

[1] *P. D. G.*, iv. 393. [2] *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 98.
[3] *Prim. Cons.*, i. 115.

his home in B.C. 398, related that the *Piscis Australis*, the 'Great Fish,' as it was called, was first in a lake at Bambŷkê (= Hierâpolis), the modern Membij, called in the treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*, Hirê ('The Sacred'). . . . In this lake the Fish was said to have saved the life of Derketô.'

And now let us, as directed by Mr Frazer, turn to the passage in Mr Farnell's important work. Mr Farnell, speaking of Artemis, says:—'Though none of her titles expressly designate her as a fish-goddess, yet the strange form of Eurynome in the Arcadian worship seems to indicate that this conception was not alien to the earliest character of Artemis in this country.'

It would be interesting to know which of the titles of Artemis *impliedly* 'designate her as a fish-goddess.' The only connexion between Artemis and the Fish is the silly Greek habit of calling this or that foreign goddess 'Artemis,' apparently in default of any other name. When speaking of the Hêra Akraia of Korinth I had occasion to say:—'Such a careful and well informed writer as Mr Farnell is perfectly aware that she is not the Aryan spouse of Zeus, but a Phoenician goddess.'[1]

What strange delusion, then, blinds him respecting this unanthropomorphic stranger from the East? He continues:—'The learned knew that the goddess . . . . was Eurynome, the daughter of Oceanus. . . . In Roscher's *Lexicon* the latter view is accepted as correct [this view is quite right, so far as it goes]; but Preller and Welcker, without much discussion [just so], take what appears to have been the view of the people. Much may be urged in favour of the popular belief.'

[1] *Semitic Influence*, p. 47; vide *Cults*, i. 201 *et seq.*

Now let us have these arguments. The people up and down the street are notoriously well informed in matters of antiquarian research. 'In the first place, why should a scarcely known sea-goddess receive so strange a worship in a place so far inland as Phigaleia?'

Mr Farnell has no idea that he is entirely begging the question in styling Eurynomê 'a scarcely known sea-goddess.' From what has been already said, it will be at once apparent that she was a very well known sea-goddess. 'So far inland as Phigaleia!' Look at the map; Phigaleia is not 'far inland.' But what if it were? Poseidôn is a sea-god, and Mantineia is considerably farther inland than Phigaleia; and yet Poseidôn had a very ancient sanctuary at Mantineia. 'So strange a worship!' What is there strange about the worship? As Pausanias remarks, the form of the image would be suitable enough for a sea-goddess, however unsuitable to Artemis, the huntress, one of the great anthropomorphic family of Olympos. Mr Farnell's next reason is, if Eurynomê were a sea-goddess, 'Why should her temple be planted round with cypresses, which as wild trees might belong naturally to Artemis?'

We rub our eyes, and ask, Is he really serious? If so, *O sancta simplicitas!* For first, the trees were not 'wild,' but culivated. The temple, he says, was 'planted round' with them. And next, a score of gods and goddesses besides Artemis are connected with trees, and with different kinds of trees, and with groves. And what connexion is there between Artemis and this particular tree, the cypress? None. Again, is not the cypress a tree very specially connected with the East? Why, certainly. From its

native home in Afghanistan it migrated westward, becoming a sacred tree in Persia, and, says Hehn[1]: —

'Following the path of the oldest Assyrio-Babylonian migrations, the cypress very early arrived in the countries of the Aramaeo-Canaanite tribes, the Lebanon, and the Island of Cyprus, which took its name from the tree; and there, too, became a holy tree, in which a goddess of nature was present; the same shown to us in the Troad by Virgil, who describes her ancient deserted temple with the sacred cypress, in this case, calling the deity Ceres, while in another he calls her Diana.[2] The practical value placed on the cypress by the Phoenicians . . . . was intermixed in a remarkable manner with its religious significance.'

Having mentioned how Xenophon founded a temple at Olympia to the Ephesian Artemis, and placed in it a statue of the goddess made of cypress-wood, and having given various other details, he continues :—

'All precious things that were to be preserved from worms and insects . . . . were enclosed in boxes of cypress-wood. No wonder, then, that the tree which yielded this wood, and was so highly venerated, should have been propagated by the Phoenicians and Philistines, wherever they settled and the climate was favourable, from the very earliest times. In Crete, that early Semitic island,[3] the tree flourished so well and grew so high on the mountains that the island came to be considered its original home. . . . On the coast of Laconia, an early scene of Phoenician influence, there was a seaport

[1] Hehn, *Wanderings of Plants and Animals*, Ap. Stallybrass, p. 214 *et seq.*

[2] With just as much and as little reason as this, Eurynomê is called Artemis. Vergil was quite aware that the divinity in question was neither Ceres nor Diâna; but he gives these names as representing the nearest analogue, just as people have talked of 'Juno at Carthage.'

[3] The present work of Messrs Evans and Hogarth in Krete will more than ever demonstrate Semitic and general Oriental (including Egyptian) influence in that central and most interesting island.

town, Cyparissia, and a place in Messenia had the same, or a similar name, while in both towns a goddess, Athena Cyparissia, was worshipped, whom we may presume to have been a Semitic deity under a Greek name.[1] If we roam through later Greece in company with Pausanias, we shall find here and there cypress groves, in which—what is notable—deities of Asiatic origin were chiefly worshipped; for example, Ganymeda, in the Acropolis of Phlius, a goddess, otherwise called Dia, the breaker of chains; liberated prisoners hung up their fetters on the cypresses near her temple; or Bellerophontes[2] and Aphrodite Melainis [=Erebh-noemâ, Eurynomê], whose temples stood in a cypress grove near Corinth; or the heaven-high cypresses at Psophis in Arcadia, that grew beside Alcmaeon's grave, and were called Virgins by the inhabitants who never dared to touch them. The Greek word for cypress, *kuparissos* (in early Hebrew, *gopher*), puts it beyond all doubt that the tree migrated to Greece from Semitic countries.'

And elsewhere he says:—'It is a religious and poetical custom in the East, from the earliest to the latest times, to represent the cypress as inhabited by a female divinity, and to compare a virgin to the cypress.'[3]

Much more might be added from Hehn, Movers, Lajard, Lenormant, and others, in further illustration of the Semitic associations of the cypress; but the above will suffice to show the utter baselessness of any connexion between the cypress as a 'wild' tree and the Hellenic goddess Artemis. Mr Farnell's last reason for the identification of this Eurynomê with Artemis is that Εὐρυνόμη, the meaning of which he does not tell us, 'Seems to be one of the descriptive

[1] Observe this. Hehn is far too wise to stumble over the name 'Athêna,' as many of our English scholars would have done.

[2] *I.e.*, Baal-Raphon ('Lord-of-health').

[3] *Wanderings*, p. 480.

and general appellatives . . . . used to denote one of the goddesses pre-eminent in the land.'

Therefore, he argues, this goddess must either have been Artemis, Dêmêtêr, or Persephonê. But the fish-form would only be appropriate to Artemis Limnâtis ('the Lady of the Lake'), and he adds:—'The affinity of the Phigaleian goddess with Artemis Limnâtis is assumed by Immerwahr, *Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, p. 155.'

And very rightly. Of course, Artemis Eurynomê = Artemis Limnâtis; but neither of them is the Hellenic Artemis. The Lady of the Lake (we have already met with this lake in Syria) had a sanctuary south of Tegea;[1] a temple at Sikyôn, near the sanctuary of Dionŷsos;[2] a sanctuary in south Lakônîke,[3] not far from the Phoenician settlement on Kythêra; another in Messênê, near the Lakonikan border;[4] and a precinct and temple at Patrai,[5] a place where Pausanias says that 'in the olden days' children used 'to be sacrificed to Artemis.' How thoroughly Semitic and Phoenician all this is. Lastly, Pausanias (III. xiv. 2) tells us that at Sparta 'There are sanctuaries of horse-tending Poseidon and Aeginaean Artemis . . . . we come to a sanctuary of Artemis Issora; they surname her also the Lady of the Lake. But in reality she is not Artemis, but Britomartis of Crete.'

Good old Pausanias! He has already told us that Eurynomê could not be Artemis; and now he tells us, and most correctly, that the Lady of the Lake was not Artemis, but the Kretan goddess Britomartis.[6] Mr

[1] Paus., VIII. liv. 5.
[2] Ib., II. vii. 6.
[3] Ib., III. xxiii. 6.
[4] Ib., IV. iv. 2; xxxi. 3
[5] Ib., VII. xx. 4.
[6] Vide *sup.*, p. 135.

Frazer[1] mentions several passages in which Artemis Issôra, or rather, Ἰσώρα, is referred to by Plutarch and others ; and such laborious research, so far as it goes, is worthy of all praise. But he makes no attempt to explain the name of the goddess, which, as usual, contains the key of the situation. No Greek etymology is possible, but the matter is very simple. Isôra = Sem. Ysôr ('the Chastiser'), and shortly after this mention of the goddess, Pausanias (III. xvi. 6, 7), when speaking of the Spartan Artemis, and after relating the usual silly story, invented by some one, in order to account for the rite, continues :—'Thereupon, they were bidden by an oracle to wet the altar with human blood. A man upon whom the lot fell was sacrificed ; but Lycurgus changed the custom into that of scourging the lads, and so the altar reeks with human blood.'

He then describes how the little image of the goddess becomes heavy, 'If the scourgers lay on lightly because a lad is noble or handsome,' and adds : —'Thus has the relish for human blood continued ingrained in the image since the days when the sacrifices were offered to it in the Tauric land. They call the image Lygodesma ('willow-bound') as well as Orthia ('upright'), because it was found in a thicket of willows, and the willows twining round it kept the image upright.'

This silly explanation caps the silly story above referred to ; but here we are in the presence of Artemis - Orthia - Taurikê, Taurophagos, Tauropolos, Taurô, on whose altar stood a golden bull.[2] The goddess was quite unconnected with the Tauric

[1] *P. D. G.*, iii. 334.

[2] Vide Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 572.

Chersonêsos (Crimea). As I have noticed elsewhere,[1] in Kanaan we find her in very early times as Ashtoreth-Qarnâîm ('the Two-horned'); in Phoenicia she is Aschthârth (Astartê), who assumes the bull's head as a mark of distinction; in Samothrâkê she is Axiokersê ('the Worthy-horned goddess'); at Thebes she is the horned and bull-faced Mênê. The Spartan Orthia ('the Upright') or Orthosia was introduced from Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrâkê, the very centre of the secret Phoenician Kabiric cult. Lemnos itself was called Tauria, and there a great goddess was anciently worshipped with sacrifices of virgins.

For fear that we should be unable to see the wood for the trees, let us briefly recapitulate, going back to the account given by Pausanias of the sanctuary of Eurynomê. It was :—

1. 'At the meeting of the streams.' Observe the Homeric account of the original sanctuary of the Night-goddess, at the western edge of the world :—. 'When thou has sailed in thy ship across Oceanus, where is a waste shore and the groves of Persephone, even tall poplar trees and willows . . . . there beach thy ship by deep eddying Oceanus . . . . and thereby is a rock and the meeting of the two streams.'[2]

Not without special reason was the Eurynomê-sanctuary, 'hallowed from of old,' established at this particular spot.

2. 'A thick wood of cypresses grows round it.' The grove of the Night-goddess, planted with a specially Semitic and symbolical tree. The poplars of Persephonê correspond with the cypresses of

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 134 *et seq.*, and authorities cited.

[2] *Od.*, x. 508–15, ap. Butcher and Lang.

Eurynomê. She is the goddess of and in the tree, Eurôpê in her Kretan tree, the goddess of Kypros in her cypress, the Artemis of Orchomenos in her cedar, Orthia-Lygodesma in her willow. Her 'thicket of willows' = the willows of Persephonê. The Mannhardt school will probably pounce upon her, and exhibit her, after their manner, as a Tree-goddess and nothing more.

3. The goddess was said to be a daughter of Ôkeanos and to have been mentioned in the *Iliad* (xviii. 398–405). In the passage in question the poet makes Hêphaistos say that when his mother Hêra would fain have got rid of him on account of his lameness, Eurynomê and Thetis nurtured him for nine years in a hollow cave, whilst the Ocean stream flowed around. The line 'Eurynomê daughter of back-flowing Ocean,' has been bracketed, as a somewhat doubtful one. According to M. Bérard, who may very likely be right, Pêleus = πηλός, Lat. *lutum*, 'mud,' 'clay,' the mud at the bottom of a pond or of the sea, = Sem. Thith = Gk. Thetis. The mystical marriage, therefore, of Pêleus and Thetis = the Môt, or rather Môkh-power mentioned in Sanchouniathôn: —'Out of this intercommunication of Desire and Spirit, Môkh arose, which some interpret to mean slime, others, putridity of watery secretion. Out of Môkh sprang all the impregnation of creation, and the beginning of the universe.'[1]

It would be difficult to understand the position of the Homeric Eurynomê with Thetis in the ocean depths, but for a surviving fragment of the Phoenician kosmogony of Pherekŷdês of Syros, the instructor of Pythagoras. There it is stated that at first the

[1] Ap. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, iv. 176–7.

world was ruled by Ophiôn, Γέρων' Ὀφίων (= Sem. Nâkhâsh qadmûn), 'the Old Serpent,' and Eurynomê, who were hurled from heaven and power by Kronos (Il) and Rhea (Amma). A serpent tail in mouth was with the Phoenicians a symbol of the visible kosmos;[1] and, as Lenormant has well illustrated, Qadmûn (= Gk. Kadmos) means 'ancient,' that which is before in time as well as that which is before in space (*i.e.*, the East). Hence the origin of the myth of the transformation of the Theban Kadmos and his consort into serpents. This ancient and serpentine Kadmos-Ophiôn is the autochthôn of Sanchouniathôn, 'whom they afterwards called Ouranos,' and whose war with Kronos he describes. In Phoenician idea, therefore, the kosmos was swayed by a serpentine Heaven-god, the trace of whom is preserved in the *Drakôn* of the celestial sphere, and by Erebh-noemâ ('Beautiful night'), Harmonia, daughter of Strength (= Arês) and Beauty (= Aphrodîtê), with her starry necklace, symbolically serpentine, and, when hurled down into the Ocean-stream, piscine. If I mistake not, Ouranos-Ophiôn is portrayed on a vase[2] which shows Zeus, in the act of kneeling upon one knee (= the *Hêraklês Engonasin* of the celestial sphere) and holding a thunderbolt in his right hand, attacking a huge winged monster, half man and half a double snake, who is apparently crying out in alarm, is unarmed, and is not making any effort to defend himself. This certainly is not in origin any scene in the *Gigantomachia*; for, amongst other reasons, there is no battle at all. Zeus, whom Pherekŷdês calls Zês

[1] Vide Macrob., *Sat.*, I. ix. 12.

[2] Figured in Roscher, *Lex.*, p. 1671.

or Zas, with a Graeco-Phoenician writer or artist merely means the equivalent of the chief Semitic Baal. The nature-powers and other thought-concepts of divinities glide into each other's forms, and differentiate in variant phases with perplexing multiplicity. From being few they become many, like the innumerable Madonnas of the votaries of Latin Christianity, each specially revered in her own shrine, village, or city ; or like the changing forms taken by some word or letter, as it passes from land to land, from tribe to tribe, from scribe to scribe. So, again, the variant phase produces a new epithet, and then *nomina numina.*

4. The goddess was strictly concealed in her shrine. Her sanctuary was difficult of access, then it was surrounded by the thick cypress-grove ; and lastly, it was only opened once a year, and at the festival some of the sacrifices were private. So none, either of gods or mortal men, knew of 'the hollow cave,' the deep abode of the Homeric Eurynomê. All was mysterious, occult, symbolic. Hêphaistos, whilst sheltered by the goddess, made 'cunning work of bronze, brooches and spiral arm-bands and cups and necklaces,' such as the necklace of Eurynomê-Harmonia, which wrought dire woe in Hellas.[1] Here, as generally, we have symbolism, kosmic and otherwise, combined with the actual facts of practical life, trade, art, manufactures. The goddess of starry and kosmic harmony once in twelve months, when the 'moving gems of night' have run their annual course, opens the temple of the universe at the new year. The reason upon which the Phigaleian ritual was founded had doubtless been forgotten for many an age ; but

[1] Vide *inf.*, p. 219.

the ritual itself was probably originally based on some symbolical imitation of nature.

5. The image was bound by golden chains. M. Bérard has gone very fully and ably into this feature in connexion with the Eurynomê of Phigaleia, and observes :—'La mode des statues enchaînées ou liées était venue de l'Orient, de Rhodes, disent les scoliastes.'[1] An excellent instance occurs at Sparta, where Pausanias (III. xv. 8) says, there was 'an ancient temple with a wooden image of armed Aphrodîtê. This is the only temple I know that has an upper story : the upper story is sacred to Morpho ['the Shapely']. Morpho is a surname of Aphrodite : she is seated wearing a veil and with fetters on her feet.'

Then follow two foolish explanations of the fashion, the latter being one which Pausanias declares 'I cannot accept for a moment.' It was really 'too silly.'[2]

At Sparta also 'is an ancient image of Enyalius in fetters. The notion of the Lacedaemonians about this image is that, being held fast by the fetters, Enyalias will never run away from them ; just as the Athenians have a notion about the Victory called Wingless.'[3]

Enŷalios ('the Warlike'), as M. Bérard reminds us, does not always mean Arês. It is 'une épithète du dieu de la guerre,' and is sometimes applied to Zeus or to Dionŷsos. According to one account, Enŷalios was a son of Poseidôn and Libyê, and brother of Bêlos and Agênôr.

[1] *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 87.

[2] The judicious reader of Pausanius will soon learn to distinguish the foolish stories, invented to explain forgotten facts, from true myths and faint historical traces. Pausanias himself, naturally enough, could not always discriminate between them.

[3] Paus., III. xv. 5.

But a remarkable instance of a chained god is also given by Diodôros (XVII. xli. 9), and is thus Englished by Booth:—'One of Tyre affirmed that he saw a Vision, by which Apollo told him that he would forsake the City. . . . Upon this, the Tyrians, to prevent Apollo's leaving the City, fastened his Image to the Pedestal with golden chains.'

As in the case of this Eurynomê. The custom, therefore, whatever may have been its origin, is thoroughly Semitic; and we meet with it again in the story of the chained Andromeda (= Sem. Adâmâth). M. Bérard, with others, is inclined to think from a comparison of various representations of Euphratean fish-gods and goddesses that the chains of these Eastern Mediterranean sea-goddesses were originally representations of the waves:—'Il est donc possible que les liens d'Eurynomè n'aient été qu'un antique symbole, représentant les flots de la mer. . . L'étrangère Dictynna est une déesse marine, venue de l'Océan comme notre Eurynomè. Son filet est un filet marine, un méandre de flots aux mailles dorées, comme les liens dorès de l'Eurynomè phigalienne.'

6. The image was that of a woman-fish, namely, 'The Lady of the Lake'; and we find that this 'scarcely known sea-goddess,' as Mr Farnell styles her, had shrines and sanctuaries from the south to the north of the Peloponnese. As Eurynomê-Derketô, she is the consort of Poseidôn-Dagôn ('the Fish-man') of the Phoenician and Philistine sea-board; and he is not merely the analogue of the Euphratean Êa, but the reduplication of Êa in the West.[1] I have nothing

[1] I would refer the reader who may care to know more about the Akkadian Da-gan ('the Exalted') and the Semitic Dâgân ('the Corn-god') and Dagôn ('the Fish-god') to my *Primitive Constellations.*

here to add respecting the piscine shape of Eurynomê, but would observe generally that the valleys of the Euphratês and of the Nile are homes of unanthropomorphic and symbolical divinities, which we also find in regions affected by their influence, such as Phoenicia. To a Phoenician it was natural enough to portray the Sun-god as a human figure with four legs,[1] expressive of his speed; or to design a Derketô. To a Greek such symbolism was naturally repugnant; and, when we meet in Hellas with unanthropomorphic divinities, we shall invariably find on careful examination that they are not original Greek gods of the first rank. This love of the human form in the divine is not a specially Aryan, but a specially Hellenic, characteristic; and Indians and Germans are unaffected by it.

In conclusion, then, can we entertain any reasonable doubt that the Eurynomê of Phigaleia is non-Hellenic? I venture to think not, and that if writers of the rank of Mr Frazer and Mr Farnell either misunderstand the goddess, or have nothing much to say about her, it is not because they lack learning, ability, and diligence, but because their method of investigation is, to some extent, defective. Give the soldier an inferior weapon, and what avails his skill and courage? But, again, if Eurynomê be a Semitic goddess, then, as all admit that she is identical with Artemis Limnaia or Limnâtis ('The Lady of the Lake'), the cult of a Semitic goddess is proved to demonstration to have existed in archaic times from one end of the Peloponnese to the other.

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, vol. ii. Pl. v.

IX.

In further illustration of Semitic influence in the Peloponnese generally and in Arkadia in particular, let us next notice the early history of another town in western Arkadia, which, according to Pausanias (VIII. xxiv.) was first called Erymanthos, then Phêgia ('Oak'-town, not 'Beech'), and ultimately Psôphis. I have never seen any explanation of the name Erymanthos, which was also applied to the mountain range to the north-west of the town, and to the river which ran near it. The Psophidians had a temple and image of Erymanthos, and he is brought into the highly interesting traditional pedigrees connected with Psôphis, which I propose to examine carefully, all the more so as great modern commentators pass them by unnoticed:—'Some say that the founder of Psophis was Psophis, son of Arrhon, son of Erymanthus, son of Aristas, son of Parthaon, son of Periphetes, son of Nyctimus; but others say that Psophis was a daughter of Xanthus, son of Erymanthus, son of Arcas. This is the account given in the traditions of the Arcadians about their kings, but the real truth is that Psophis was a daughter of Eryx, who ruled in Sicania' (Sicily).

It will be remembered that Nyktimos ('the Man-of-night') was the eldest son of Lykâon, and was identified with the Phoenician Atel (= Atlas), 'Darkness,' which makes visible, and thus supports, the starry heaven. We now meet with a son of his called Periphêtês, a name in appearance thoroughly Greek. The importance of obtaining the correct meaning of the names of mythic and semi-mythic personages can

hardly be over-estimated; and, again, in Aryan regions we are bound in the first instance to see whether an Aryan explanation is possible. Whatever critics such as Bunglecrumpus may aver, it is far from my wish to try to twist names into Semitic, or into any other special forms. Now Periphêtês, notwithstanding its appearance, cannot be explained from Aryan and Hellenic sources. The next step is to see if we meet with the name elsewhere, and we find that Thêseus, a great Aryan and Attic hero, 'Slew [a] Periphetes in sacred Epidaurus. Periphetes was a reputed son of Hephaestus, and fought with a bronze mace.'[1]

On this account he was called Korynêtês[2] ('Club-bearer,' or, as some prefer to render it, 'Mace-man'). Another person so-named was Arêïthoös ('Swift-as-Arês'), king of Arnê, an early name for Chairôneia, and he also was slain:—'Goodly Arêïthoös that . . . . was surnamed the Mace-man, because he fought not with bow and long spear, but with an iron mace. Him Lykourgos[3] slew by guile, and not by strength, in a narrow way, where his mace of iron saved him not from destruction: ere that Lykourgos came on him unawares and pierced him through the midst with his dart.'[4]

The poet adds that Lykourgos ('the Light-slayer'), having despoiled Arêïthoös of his arms, 'gave them to Ereuthaliôn ['the Red,' 'Ruddy,'] his dear squire to wear.'

Pausanias (VIII. iv. 7) relates:—'After the death

[1] Paus., II. i. 4.

[2] Plutarch, *Thêseus*, viii. As to these contests of Thêseus, vide R. B., Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 257 *et seq.*

[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 128.

[4] *Il.*, vii. 139–45. Ap. W. Leaf.

of Aleus ['the Red-hot'[1]] the kingdom . . . . passed to his eldest son Lycurgus, of whom it is recorded that he treacherously murdered a foeman named Areithous.'

Elsewhere, when speaking of the country near Mantineia, he says (VIII. xi. 3):—'There is a place named Phoezon. . . . Phoezon is a tomb enclosed by a basement of stone and rising but little above the ground. At this point the road grows very narrow [*cf.* the Homeric 'narrow way'], and they say that the tomb is that of Areithous, surnamed Corynêtês on account of his weapon.'

Now Phoizôn, for which there is no Hellenic etymology, = Sem. Phaseah ('the Lame,' 'the Limping'), and which we find as a proper name in the Old Testament;[2] and, similarly, Periphêtês, son of the limping Hêphaistos, was weak in his feet.[3] Let us next notice another famous mace-man, the Semitic and Boiotian Orîôn:—'I marked the great Orion driving the wild beasts over the mead of Asphodel . . . . with a strong mace all of bronze in his hands, that is ever unbroken.'[4]

As I have said elsewhere:—

'Many variations of the legend show the root opposition between Orîôn and Artemis or Apollôn. Sometimes Artemis sends the scorpion which kills him, but she works only in concert with her brother the Aryan Sun-god, his great natural rival, who, when Artemis-Selênê is inclined to look favourably on the solar stranger, by craft prevails on her to

[1] Vide *sup.*, p. 127.

[2] 1 *Chron.* iv. 12, etc.

[3] Πόδας ἀσθενεῖς ἔχων (Apollod., III. xvi. 1).

[4] *Od.*, xi. 572–5, ap. Butcher and Lang. As to Oriôn, vide R. B., Jun., *The Myth of Kirkê*, pp. 146–8; *Semitic Influence*, pp. 172–3; *Prim. Cons.*, i. 277 *et seq.*

smite him with the arrow of death as he sinks through the western ocean to the Under-world. It is the Sun, giant-hunter and racer through the heavens . . . . who chases the varied phenomena of the sky, slaying them with gleaming mace, fit weapon for a brilliant giant . . . . who still pursues his ceaseless chase through the Under-world after the phantom animals of the "lonely heights" and "windy halls" of heaven, like the Phoenician Periphêtês armed with mighty club, a glowing torch-mace soon to burn with the augmented splendours of the dawning day . . . . he hastens through the hours of darkness to meet Êôs, who loves him . . . . his mace is ever unbroken, his torch ever unquenched.'[1]

We have now three other instances of mace-men, all slain, either by an Aryan adversary or by hostile powers of darkness, and all with Semitic and solar associations. Periphêtês of Epidauros is the 'reputed' son (= servant, votary, as expressed in Semitic fashion) of the Fire-god. If anyone doubts the real meaning of the archaic myth according to which the dark Lykourgos treacherously kills his mace-bearing 'foe in a narrow way,' afterwards localized in Arkadia at a spot where 'the road grows very narrow,' let him read again of the great band of solar heroes treacherously slain at eventide, speared in the back, like Siegfried by Hagen; or, if he will peruse my monograph, *The Unicorn*, he will find how in ancient myth, to some extent preserved in heraldry, the lunar Unicorn, the solar Lion, and the stellar Leopard act precisely in the same way toward each other. The 'narrow way' where the solar hero perishes = 'the dark passages'[2] through which Hermês Psychopompos guides the ghosts. The sun, in his hour of weakness, in mythology is wounded,

[1] *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 275–6.
[2] *Od.*, xxiv. 10.

thorn-pricked, poisoned, sick, leprous, blinded, or, again, lame, like Periphêtês and Phaseah ('the Limping'), whom the Homeric poet merely names by an epithet 'Swift-as-Arês,' in which term there is no contradiction, for such the sun is until he is suddenly lamed in the fatal West. Says Gubernatis:—'We have already seen the sun as *anipadyamanas*, *i.e.*, the sun who never puts his foot down; but this sun who never puts down his foot easily, came to be conceived of and represented as a sun without feet, or as a lame hero, who, during the night, by the perfidy of the witch, the dusk of evening, became also blind.'[1]

And do not, gentle reader, be discouraged in these investigations because you may have heard or read the second or third hand sneers of some blockhead anent what he calls 'the solar theory.' The chances are a thousand to one that he has never really studied it; and after making such abatements as are necessarily due to human error, the 'Natural Phenomena Theory' of mythology will explain infinitely more than all other theories put together. Korynêtês is, as might be guessed, a translation of Periphêtês, = Sem. Bar-Maiphêts or Vaiphêts ('Son-of-a-mace'). In the A. V., *Prov.* xxv. 18, the word is translated 'maul.' In Phoenician 'Son of Hêphaistos' might be 'Bar-Melekh'[2] or 'Bar-Hamon.' As to the M–V change, we find such forms as '*Vagarmel* pro Magarbal, *Vagal* pro Magal.'[3] *V*, again, passes into *u*, 'ut *ul* pro *bal* (*val*); so *uiphêts* = Gk. *iphêtês*. As of course, the mace had long been used in human hands ere it became a

[1] *Zoological Mythology*, i. 31–2.

[2] A known form (vide Gesen., *Script. Ling. Ph.*, p. 348).

[3] *Ib.*, p. 433.

weapon of the sun-god. It was well known in the valleys of the Nile,[1] and of the Euphratês. Canon Rawlinson observes :—' In peace it was very commonly borne by the royal attendants, and it seems also to have been among the weapons used by the monarch himself, for whom it is constantly carried by one of those who wait most closely upon his person.' [2]

Like innumerable other inventions it passed westward, and during the Hellenic semi-mythical period its use is known, but is remarked as something exceptional and peculiar. Such, then, are the associations connected with Periphêtês. The etymology of the name above proposed speaks for itself, being in strict accordance with phonetic laws and in absolute harmony with the facts of the case. When, therefore, we meet with a Periphêtês, son of Nyktimos, we may undoubtedly regard him as a Phoenician and solar personage, a Day-power who springs from and succeeds Night, and who is specially remarkable for carrying a mace or club, in fact, as Harekhal (Hêraklês), whose club, according to one account, was brazen and the gift of Hêphaistos,[3] the reputed sire of Periphêtês of Epidauros. The connexion between Hêraklês and Arkadia and the Arkadians is most pronounced. We are now at Psôphis, and in this north-western part of the country the god performed two of his special labours, the capture of the Erymanthian Boar and of the Kerynaian Stag, which latter animal appears on coins of Psôphis struck prior to B.C. 471.

[1] Vide Wilkinson, *Anct. Egyptians*, 1878, i. 217.

[2] *Anct. Monarchies*, i. 459.

[3] Vide Apollon. Rhod., i. 1196; Diod. Sik., iv. 14. The Aryan Hêphaistos (=Sk. Yavishtha, Lat. Juvenis), the ever-young Fire-power, is merely used, in the Hellenic version of the myth, as the Greek analogue of the Semitic Fire-power.

The son of Periphêtês is Parthaôn, another impossible word from the Hellenic side, but simple enough as the Semitic Bod-Tân or Bar-Tân ('Servant' or 'Son of the Mighty-one'). Says Lenormant:—

'Le nom d'un dieu *Tân* se trouve en composition dans celui d'Itanos de Crète, *i-Tân*, "l'ile de Tan."[1] Les plus anciennes monnaies de cette ile représentent le dieu Tân comme un personnage à queue de poisson, tenant le trident de Neptune; au revers est représenté le monstre marin *tannîn* et sa femelle. C'est le "belier marin" d'Elien (*Hist. anim.*, ix. 49; xv. 2), dans quel Maury a déjà fait voir l'animal du Poseidôn phénicien.'[2]

As we have seen, the god Tân is called Poseidôn by the Greeks; and his name is best explained by the Babylonio-Assyrian *dannu* ('strong,' 'mighty'), just as Poseidôn is styled Kratistos and Megalosthenês. The name appears in Tênnês, a king of Sidôn;[3] in Tênnês, king of Tenedos, a place where children were sacrificed to Melikertês,[4] = Palaimôn,[5] = (according to Lenormant) Baal-Yâm ('Lord-of-the-sea'), = Poseidôn; in Tênos, where was a celebrated temple of Poseidôn; and in Taineron, the southern promontory of Lakônikê, now Cape Matapan. At Sparta was shown the tomb of the eponym Taineros (= Tân-ary, 'Tân, the Lion,' *i.e.*, hero):[6]—'They say that the cape which juts out into the sea was named after him.'[7] 'On the cape is a temple like a cave, and in front of it an image of Poseidon.'[8]

[1] Vide *sup.*, p. 106. [2] *Les Origines*, i. 545.
[3] Diod. Sik., xvi. 42. [4] Tzetzês, in Lykoph., l. 229.
[5] It is quite possible that this name covers both Baal-Hamon and Baal-Yâm.
[6] Other Phoenician names are compounded with *ary*.
[7] Paus., III. xiv. 2. [8] Ib., III. xxv. 4.

This sanctuary of the god was a very holy one :—

'Certain Lacedaemonians, condemned to death . . . . took sanctuary at Taenarum; but the college of ephors tore them from the altar and put them to death. For this violation of the rights of his sanctuary the wrath of Poseidon fell on the Spartans, and by an earthquake he levelled the whole city with the ground.'[1] 'Not a house in Lacedaemon stood the shock.'[2]

'From Cape Taenarum it is a sail of about forty furlongs to Caenepolis, which was also called Taenarum of old.'[3]

The god's name is also preserved in the Boiotian Tanagra (vide *sup.*, p. 121). The town-eponym is an imaginary nymph Tanagra, said to be the daughter of Aiolos, or of Asôpos, or of anybody else. The inhabitants declared their founder was Poimandros, whose descent was traced from a daughter of Poseidôn.[4] As I have said elsewhere :—

'It was a well-known Phoenician foundation (Hêrod., v. 57-8), and the inhabitants, who migrated to Athênai, where, even in late times they had their own temples, were called Gephyraioi (Hêrod., *ut sup.*; Strabo, IX. ii. 10), *i.e.*, "Men-of-the-village," or "Small-town" (Sem. *Koupher*, "village"; Ph. Gaphara, *vicus*, Gesen., *Script. Ling. Ph.*, p. 422). As might be expected, the neighbourhood is full of Semitic associations. Hard by was the scene of the birth of Orîôn (Strabo, IX. ii. 12), and at Tanagra was his tomb; and the spot where Atlas (Ph. Atel) sits and meditates. The place possessed temples of Dionŷsos and Aphrodîtê,[5] and images of Phoenician goddesses have been found there.'

The god's name further appears, as noticed,[6] in the Boiotian Ἰtônos; and also in the Thessalian town-name Itônos, a place situated near another Thebes and

[1] Paus., IV. xxiv. 2.
[2] Ib., VII. xxv. 1.
[3] Ib., III. xxv. 6.
[4] Ib., IX. xx. 2.
[5] *Prim. Cons.*, i. 205.
[6] *Sup.*, p. 106.

at no great distance from the Phoenician settlement at Iolkos. Phoenician divinities were frequently worshipped in dyads or divine couples, the goddess, the form of whose name was generally distinguished by the feminine termination *t* or *th*, *e.g.*, Baalâth, Anath, Atargath, Ashtareth, being the reflection or manifestation of the god, the rays of the sun, or his reflection in the moon. The female reflection of Tân is the goddess Tanith [1] or Tanit, especially revered, amongst other places, at Carthage. She appears in Boiôtia and Thessalia as Athêna Itônia. Says Pausanius (IX. xxxiv. 1):—'Before reaching Coronea from Alalcomenae you come to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena; the name is derived from Itonus [*i.e.*, Poseidôn], son of Amphictyon, and here the Boeotians meet for their general assembly.'

This statement respecting the derivation of the name is more deeply correct than Pausanias could know. Tanith is derived from Tân, even as I-tôn-ia from I-tôn-os. The statement, obtained from some vague tradition, that Itônos was the 'son of Amphictyon,' practically amounts to nothing. As Prof. Sayce notes, the Amphiktyons were originally merely 'the dwellers-around.' [2] In the 'Massilia Sacrifice Tablet of Baal,' we meet with such Phoenician names as Bod-Tanit ('the Servant of Tanit'), the son of Bod-Esmûn ('the Servant of Esmun'), and elsewhere with Bod-Melqârth ('Servus

[1] Confused by some former writers with the Persian Anâhita = Gk. Anaïtis, Anaitis, who was regarded by the Babylonians as identical with Ishtar, and by the Greeks as identical with Aphrodîtê, and whose cult was brought westward to Damaskos and Sardis by Artakhshatra II., surnamed Abiyâtaka ('Having-a-good-memory'), Gk. Mnemôn (vide R. B., Jun., *Prim. Cons.*, i. 317).

[2] *Herodotos*, p. 226.

Herculis'). The pious Semite is the 'son' or 'servant' of his god, and so in early times in the Euphratês Valley we find similarly such names as Arad-Nirgal ('servant of Nirgal'), Apil-Sin ('Son of the Moon-god'), Mar-Istar ('Son of Ishtar'), and the like.[1]

The mother of Palaimôn, the solar sea-god, is the moon-goddess[2] Inô (Sem. Anna, 'the Merciful'), the 'Anna soror' of Vergil, consort of Athamas-Tammuz, the burning and raging Sun-god; she is known as Leukothea ('the White-goddess') and Dîdô ('the Beloved'). Says Pausanias (I. xliv. 11):—

'Of the Molurian rock [near Megara] it is told how Ino flung herself from it into the sea with her younger son Melicertes in her arms; for her elder son Learchos had been killed by his father [a true Phoenician]. One story is that Athamas did this in a fit of madness [=Hêraklês Mainomenos]. So she fled and hurled herself and the child from the Molurian rock into the sea. But the boy, it is said, was landed on the Isthmus of Corinth by a dolphin; his name was changed from Melicertes to Palaemon; and the Isthmian games were held in his honour, and other marks of respect bestowed on him.'

The Moon-goddess, as she 'sinks her lingering horn in the dim seas,' when flying from the Sun-god, has (potentially) in her arms the young Sun of the next day. Sun-god and Moon-goddess are also divinities of the sea; but human fancy and belief are never altogether logical, and mythic personages often glide into each other, or again, one separates into twain or more, in a perplexing fashion that creates the labyrinth of mythological obscurity. As Baal-Yâm leaps

[1] Vide Hommel, *Anct. Heb. Trad.*, p. 74.

[2] Vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 144–5.

or is hurled into the sea, so it is considered fitting that his victims and offerings should likewise be thrown into it. Thus Hamilqar, when attacking Akragas (Agrigentum) 'threw a company of priests into the sea, as a sacrifice to Poseidôn'[1]; and 'of old the Argives threw horses, bitted and bridled, into Dine ['A spring of fresh water rising out of the sea.'] in honour of Poseidon.'[2] The dolphin is very specially connected with Poseidôn, as with Palaimôn.[3] In the celestial sphere his *Dolphin*, his *Sea-horse*, and his *Tunny* find places together side by side, not very far from himself, the *Charioteer*. In 1892 Mr. H. B. Walters, in an interesting paper, *Poseidon's Trident*, after referring to some representations of the god on 'votive tablets or *pinakes* of terrra cotta,' found near Korinth and as early as the seventh century B.C., which show him 'in nearly every case holding a trident,' observes:—'It seems probable that the tunny-fish which Poseidon so often holds, as in the early painting by Kleanthes, suggested the form that his sceptre should take—namely, that of the three-pronged spear used in catching that particular fish.'

These considerations explain the Fish which constantly appears on the reverse of the early coinage of Psôphis, and specimens of which are given in the *Cat. Gk. Coins, Brit. Mus., Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxxvi. 18–20. It seems to me to be meant for a Tunny, and the lower object in No. 20, which Mr Gardner doubtfully styles 'hoof of stag,' to be a second

[1] Diod. Sik., xiii. 86.

[2] Paus., VIII. vii. 2.

[3] One of the principal meanings of the dolphin in Greek symbolism, says Ruskin, is 'the ascending and descending course of any of the heavenly bodies from one sea horizon to another' (*Queen of the Air*, i. 39).

Fish ; just as the Dolphin and Tunny appear together on coins of Kyzikos. I have never met with an explanation of this Psophidian coin-type, which at first sight appears strange in the case of a town quite inland ; but, regarded as an illustration of the cult of Poseidôn, which, as we have seen,[1] was by no means confined to the sea and the seashore, it is natural enough.

To continue the pedigree. The son of Parthaôn is Aristas, and here we have one of those names which, in the abstract, might be either Hellenic or Semitic. In Greek it would mean 'the Man of prowess,' but the general weight of the evidence leaves little doubt that the son of Parthaôn was a Semite. 'Aristo' for Aristor occurs as a Tyrian and Qarthaginian name,[2] and its signification was simple enough, *i.e.*, Ary-Ashtôr ('the Lion of Ashtôr') ; 'Leo, *i.e.*, heros,' as Gesenius notes. Similarly, we find the Phœnician surname Βοδόστωρ, Bod-Ashtôr, ('the Servant of Ashtôr'). I have referred to the Phoenician principle of dyads in divine couples ; and Ashtôr or Ashtâr is the male of the pair of which Ashtareth is the female. A further feature, frequent in the religion of Western Asia, is the androgynous divinity, who combines male and female potentialities. The idea is natural enough ; Divinity is at once sexless and includes all sexual potency. But the moment such a concept is crystallized anthropomorphically, either in thought or in art, we practically obtain a monster, such as was the Phrygian Agdistis.[3] I assume the reader to be aware that the religions

[1] *Sup.*, p. 163.

[2] Vide Gesen., *Script. Ling. Ph.*, p. 401.

[3] Vide Paus., VII. xvii. 5.

of Syria and Arabia were originally borrowed from the Euphratês Valley; and in this latter region we find, with so much else, the concept of male-female divinities. Thus, the sun is a god and a goddess; and of Dilbat, the planet *Venus*, a special manifestation of the great goddess Ishtar, we read (*W. A. I.* III. liii., *Rev.* l. 30–33):—

> 'Dilbat is a female at sunset.
> Dilbat is a male[1] at sunrise.
> Dilbat (is) an androgyne.'

We thus find a Euphratean male-and-female Ishtar, the female becoming the Phoenician Ashtareth, Gk. Astartê (=Aphrodîtê).[2] The male Ishtar reappears in Arabia—

'In the Minaean inscriptions as *Athtar* (pronounced Astar). . . . . To these some inscriptions add an "Athtar the Ascendant" (*i.e.*, apparently, the Morning Star),[3] and an Athtar of Yahir. Athtar and Wadd occupy the highest place. . . . In the Sabaean Pantheon Athtar was also worshipped in various places and temples.'[4] 'With Ashtoreth we may compare the interesting variant, Be-Eshterah, in *Josh.* xxi. 27, a form which cannot be rightly explained except by a reference to the South Arabian personal name Bi-Athtar (=by or with Astar).'[5]

On the *Moabite Stone*, l. 17, we read that the king of Moab devoted the captive women and maidens 'to Ashtar-Chemosh,' on which Ginsburg observes:—

[1] 'The Assyrian word here is very remarkable, *zi-ca-rat*, as if he could coin a term like "male-ess." It translates the Accadian "male-female."' (Sayce, in *Trans.* Soc. Bib. Archaeol., iii. 197.)

[2] The Oriental origin of Aphrodîtê is now generally conceded by serious students, as, *e.g.*, by Mr Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*; vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 128 *et seq.*).

[3] Thus keeping up the connexion with the planet *Venus*.

[4] Hommel, *Anct. Heb. Trad.*, pp. 80, 81.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 274.

'Schlottmann rightly remarks that we have in this broken line one of the most important contributions to the Canaanite theology or mythology, which at the same time throws light upon the mythology of the Greeks. Ashtar, the masculine companion to the feminine Ashtarte, appears here for the first time [1] in the religions of Canaan.'

After noticing the ancient idea that Divinity 'consisted of a dual nature, masculine and feminine joined in one,' he continues :—

'Among the Phoenicians, Ashtar, or the masculine of this androgyne, is called Baal=*the Lord*, whilst Ashtarte is Tanith, and is described as "the Name of Baal," or "the Face of Baal." In harmony with this fusion of the two natures in one, Ashtarte is called, in a Phoenician Inscription, "the King," "the Sun God" (Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars*, p. 143); whilst, on the contrary, Baal is called *Goddess* in the Septuagint (Hos. ii. 8; Zeph. i. 4) and in the New Testament (*Rom.* xi. 4). . . . We have here, upon Canaanite soil, as Schlottman rightly remarks, the original of the Aphrodite mentioned by Aristophanes, the name of the bearded Venus Amathusia "*eadem mas et femina.*"' [2]

We are now in a position to understand the meaning of the name Aristas, and to see how much history and mythology is contained in this apparently simple appellation ; and how, strange though it may seem, the votaries of Ashtâr carried his cult into north-western Arkadia in the dim morning of the Hellenic world.

Returning to the pedigree, we find that the son

[1] He had appeared before, but had not been recognized. Gesenius and others evidently did not grasp the meaning of such a proper name as Bodostôr.

[2] *The Moabite Stone*, pp. 43, 44.

of Aristas is Erymanthos, who, according to the variant pedigree, is a son of Arkas. At first sight, and as the other names in the genealogy are Semitic, it might have been supposed that this was also non-Aryan. We are instinctivcly reminded of Rhadamanthos,[1] but examination shows that no non-Aryan etymology is possible. This is an ancient mountain name, given by very early Aryan settlers, and afterwards applied to the local river. 'The Psophidians have a temple of Erymanthus, with an image of him, beside the river Erymanthus. The images of all rivers except the Egyptian Nile are made of white marble.'[2]

The name also occurs in that charming passage in which the Homeric poet describes the true Aryan Artemis,—no fishy Lady of the Lake,—and which is so redolent of the fresh sweet spirit of morning in the country, and of life almost breaking into ecstasy in the full pulsation of its glorious strength :—'Even as Artemis, the archer, moveth down the mountain, either along the ridges of lofty Taygetus, taking her pastime in the chase of boars and swift deer, and with her the wild wood-nymphs disport them . . . . while high over all she rears her head and brows, and easily may she be known,—but all are fair.'[3]

Erymanthos, as a local personage, has been pitchforked into these two Psophidian pedigrees, both of which Pausanias rejects ; and in the second is rightly

[1] Well explained by Lauth as the Egyptian Ret-amenti (Amentît, 'Man-of-the-West,' *i.e.*, the Under-World), a title of Asar (Osîris), and a very interesting instance of Egyptian influence in the exceedingly mixed island of Krêtê.

[2] Paus., VIII. xxiv. 6.

[3] *Od.*, vi. 102–8, ap. Butcher and Lang.

styled a son of Arkas, if we here use Arkas as an equivalent for Arkadia. Turning to the proper Aryan quarter for an explanation of his name, we see at once that it is derived from an original form which appears in Sanskrit as Uru-muṇḍas ('the High and bare'), 'the name of a mountain.'[1] I am aware that a modern guide book describes the heights of Erymanthos as 'wooded'; but it does not follow that they were so when the epithet was first bestowed.

The son of Erymanthos is Arrhôn, a name which, as noticed,[2] = the Phoenician Arin,[3] and is translated by the Greek Simos ('Snub-nose'). We may observe that when we meet with the name late in the genealogy of the Arkadian kings, it is given simply in the Greek translation, whilst here, at a much earlier period, the Semitic term is preserved in a Greek form. As so frequently is the case with Semitic names in Arkadia, we find this appellation also in Boiôtia, where Arrhôn is mentioned as a brother of Azeus.[4] It was a well-known name both in Greek and in Hebrew, where it appears as Harim.[5] The Phoenician *n* at times = the Hebrew *m*; thus Ph. Baal-*schamîn* = Heb. Baal-*shamaîm*. The name Arin-Arrhôn is simple enough as a personal epithet, but in a genealogy like the present, composed wholly or in part of personifications of nature, divinities, and demi-gods, its presence is not so clear. The pedigree, although not arbitrary in its names, is arbitrary, to a certain extent, in their succession, as is shown by the insertion of Erymanthos

[1] Vide Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dict.*, pp. 174, 784.
[2] *Sup.*, p. 145.
[3] Vide Gesen., *Script. Ling. Ph.*, pp. 400–1.
[4] Paus., IX. xxxvii. 1; vide *sup.*, p. 125.
[5] Ezra, ii. 32.

and the contradictory position assigned to him in the two conflicting schemes of descent. That Arrhôn may stand for some individual man, is possible, but nothing more; and setting aside this solution, and without any dogmatism in an enquiry so delicate and obscure, I would suggest an explanation on the following lines. From a very remote period the Phoenicians were connected with Lower Egypt, and there had flourished the cult of the god Ptah, in the dialect of Memphis Phthah, Gk. Phtha ('the Opener'), who, whatever else he may have been or represented, was a demiurgic and creating power. 'In the work of creation Ptah had been helped by the Khnûmû, "the modellers," who were generally counted as his children, although later those of Râ. They were represented as dwarfs, with big heads, crooked legs, very long arms: grotesque figures which, as Herodotus tells us, excited the derision of Kambyses.'[1]

Hêrodotos (iii. 37), when relating the circumstance, says:—

'The image of Hêphaistos [as he calls Ptah] is very like the Pataikoi of the Phoenicians, with which they ornament the prows of their war-ships. . . . It is a figure like that of a pigmy. He [Kambujiya] went into the [Phoenician] temple of the Kabeiroi [Kabîrîm], which is not lawful for any one to enter except the priests, and not only made sport of the images, but even burnt them. They are made like the image of Hêphaistos, who is said to have been their father.'

On this Prof. Sayce observes:—

'The Pataeki seem to have the same name as Ptah, "the opener," *i.e.*, "creator," from Egyptian *ptah*, Phoeniko-Hebrew *pathakh*, "to open." Ptah-Sekari is represented on later monuments as a deformed pygmy, the type being a foetal one. The Phoenicians must have borrowed their Pataeki

[1] Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Anct. Egyptians*, p. 137.

from Egypt, probably identifying them with their own Kabeiri, and making them the sons of Ptah, whom they would then have identified with the creator El.'[1]

In this connexion another Egyptian god or demi-god must also be noticed, 'Bes, a name derived from the word *besa*, which designates one of the great *felidae*.' This personage, of African (not, as was formerly thought, of Arabian) origin, was—

'Represented as a bearded dwarf with large ears and crooked legs . . . . dressed in the hide of a beast . . . . generally [unlike the native Egyptian divinities] drawn in full face. . . . Bes is one of the divinities attending the birth of the king, or of the Sun god. . . . Another office fell to him as guardian of the young Sun god. . . . . At the end of the New Kingdom he was fused with his ward. . . . The solar lions also became connected with him, and he was regarded as one with the god Sepd, lord of the east.'[2]

He was, as Wiedemann notes, a hideous creature, like the African negro fetish gods of to-day; but, to the Egyptian mind, this brutal horror and ugliness suggested occult symbolism, and suited well with Ptah and his assistants. The representations of Ptah-Sekari, the Khnûmû, and Bes will probably be familiar to the reader from the works of Egyptologists or otherwise. I will therefore only call attention to the snub nose, which is a constant feature in these dwarfs, perhaps more particularly in Bes and in Bes-Sepd, where it is the most striking point in a hideous face. MM. Perrot and Chipiez observe that the Phoenicians 'Manufactured gods for exportation upon every island of the Aegean, and upon all its coasts statues have been found of Astarte, of Bes . . . . and

[1] *Herodotos*, pp. 246–7.

[2] Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Anct. Egyptians*, p. 159 *et seq.*

of those dwarf gods in whom we see the originals of the Greek pygmies.'[1]

They then give a figure of a Phoenician terra-cotta Bes, now in the Louvre, with the usual snub-nose, and also of a Bes from Sardinia; and, after further remarks elsewhere on Bes and on 'the Embryonic Ptah,' observe:—'Herodotus speaks of a pygmy; now by a pygmy the Greeks understood a dwarf with a large head, protruding belly and knotty limbs; a person answering in some degree to this description appears on certain silver coins of Phoenician origin, on which we see a great ship with a deformed dwarf on its prow.'

After surmising that the Phoenicians 'set up their hideous and muscular dwarf on the prows of their ships,' partly with a view of intimidating 'those almost savage tribes with whom their commerce was carried on when they first began to coast along the shores of Greece, Italy, Sardinia, and Spain,' they continue:—'And the type which we may believe held its place most securely on the bows of the Phoenician galleys, was that derived more or less from the Egyptian Bes,' showing 'the virile strength, the great beard, the threatening countenance, the feathered head-dress, and the generally fantastic accoutrements of the valiant dwarf.'[2]

The normal type of the Phoenician coinage of the island of Kossura, between Sicily and Africa, is thus described by Gesenius:—'Cabirus (s. Pataecus) *i.e.*, nanus deformis succinctus dextra malleum, sinistra plerumque serpentem tenens: capita tribus cornibus s. radiis munito.'

[1] *Hist. of Art in Phoenicia*, i. 64.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 18–23.

As I have observed elsewhere,[1] this personage is the Phoenician Eschmûn-Asklêpios, the *Ophiouchos-Serpentarius* of the celestial sphere; but the type is derived from Bes, and the three horns or rays on the head represent the original feathered head-dress of the mid-African monster-god.

According to Sanchouniathôn, as given by Philôn, Ousôös was 'the inventor of clothing for the body, which he made of the skins of wild beasts. And, having taken a tree and broken off its boughs, he was the first who dared to venture on the sea.' Neither his sire nor any issue of his are mentioned, so that he stands practically alone. Lenormant observes:—'C'est le *Bes* des monuments égyptiens. . . . *Bosch* = *Bes* est devenu Ousôos, comme *Bodoschthor* et *Bodam* Oudostor et Oudam dans certaines transcriptions grecques.'[2]

To recapitulate: the Phoenicians in Lower Egypt met with a pygmy-cult, possessing two types, the Ptah-type and the Bes-type. The divine pygmy was creative, generative, phallic, solar, warlike. The Phoenicians, commercial, avaricious, sensual, given to symbolism and to occult and mysterious ritual, and being utterly indifferent to beauty in art, readily adopted the type, regarded the Egyptian pygmies as the equivalents of their own Kabîrîm, Eschmûn and his seven brethren, and introduced their type and cult along the shores of the Mediterranean. Arrhôn-Arin ('Snub-nose') is a descriptive epithet simply, not a contemptuous nickname. The Egyptian and Semite see nothing ridiculous in the figure which excites the laughter of Kambyses; and the god, probably regarded as the Kabeiric Eschmûn, and carried into Hellas by

[1] *Prim. Cons.*, i. 168. [2] *Les Origines*, i. 539.

his Phoenician votaries, finds at last a place in this Psophidian genealogy. But Bes, true to his negro origin, has also his comic side. In Egypt 'he came to be considered as the god of the dance, of music, and of jollity, a part to which he seemed predestined even by his absurd appearance.'[1]

He is shown in art holding nosegays, playing on the lyre or tambourine, carrying apes, and otherwise in scenes suggestive of frolic and buffoonery. And he and his fellow-pygmies reappear in Hellenic regions as the Kerkôpes ('Phallic-looking'), described as droll and tricksy gnomes and thieves, connected naturally with Hêraklês, as a Semitic divinity, whom they rob in his sleep, and by whom they are captured and killed or pardoned, their names and the localities with which they are associated being naturally given with many variations. They are, however, especially linked with the neighbourhood of Thermopylai, where Hêrodotos (vii. 216) speaks of 'the Stone called Melampŷgos and the seats of the Kerkôpes.' Above 'the Cauldrons' stood 'an altar sacred to Hêraklês';[2] and, as Canon Rawlinson observes:—'The whole district was regarded as ennobled by the sufferings of Hercules, and as sacred to him.'[3]

The story anent Hêraklês Melampŷgos ('Black-rump'), how 'his hinder parts had become tanned by continued labours and exposure to the atmosphere,' is given by K. O. Müller;[4] and this swarthy and foreign Harekhal is one of a band of sun-burnt personages such as Pelops ('the Dark-faced'), the swarthy stranger from Asia Minor, tamer of horses, favourite

[1] Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Anct. Egyptians*, p. 164.
[2] Hêrod., vii. 176.
[3] *Hist. of Herod.*, iv. 122.
[4] *Doric Race*, i. 464.

of Poseidôn the patron of the Aithiopians, and grandson of Atlas; and Melampous ('Black-foot'), the prophet, physician, and introducer of the Dionysiac cult, the knowledge of which he obtained, in the opinion of Hêrodotos (ii. 49), from Kadmos and the Phoenicians. Prof. Sayce remarks:—'The introduction of the worship of Dionysos, ascribed to him, seems to indicate that the myth has embodied traditions of "swarth-footed" Phoenicians, and justifies the statement of Herodotos.'[1]

We have now arrived at the last personage of the genealogy. The son of Arrhôn is Psôphis, and Psôphis is also the daughter of Xanthos, son of Erymanthos, and the daughter of Eryx, king of Sicily; so we must make our choice. No explanation of the name Psôphis can be given on the Aryan side. On the Semitic side there are several very possible etymologies, all suitable enough. The one which commends itself to me is Tsophîth ('the Watch-tower'). Leake remarks:—'Among the remarkable positions with which Greece abounds, and which seem to have been intended by nature for the strongholds of small republics, Psophis is one of the most distinguished for strength and singularity of site.'

He describes its 'rocky hill,' defended by the waters of the Erymanthos and the Aroanios, and quotes the account by Polybios (iv. 70) of the siege of Psôphis by Philip of Makedonia in B.C. 219. The Greek historian says:—

'On the side towards the east flows the Erymanthos, a large and impetuous river. As the western torrent joins the

[1] *Herodotos*, p. 154. There are, I believe, some votaries of Beast-gods who would fain regard Melampous as a 'black-footed Goat-god.'

Erymanthos on the southern side, the town is thus fortified on three sides. On the remaining side towards the north impends a strong hill, defended by a wall, and serving the purpose of a secure and well placed citadel. The town itself also is provided with walls, remarkable both for their large dimensions and their construction.'

Such a site would appeal to Phoenicians, so skilful in fortifications, as they penetrated by degrees into the country. Bunglecrumpus, whose head is always full of misapplications of Grimm's Law, about which the Greeks and Romans in their intercourse with their Semitic neighbours cared nothing, will doubtless clamour against the above etymology of Psôphis. But it can be easily justified, all the same. The Greeks and Latins, when transliterating from the Semitic, very frequently insisted on using a final *s*, whatever might be the final letter in the original word. Thus, we obtain such changes as Schamêmêrum = Samêmroumo-s, Uscho = Ousôö-s, Themar = Demarou-s, Adônai = Adôni-s, Qadmûn = Kadmo-s, Hannibal = Anniba-s, and so on. Thus, again, the Qarthaginian judge- or magistrate-name Shôphait, Shaphat = Lat. Sûfe-s, Suffes; and the plural Shôphaitîm = Lat. Sufete-s. Again—'The Phoenician lingual sibilant *ts*, a sound peculiar to the Semites, became the hard sibilant *s* among the Dorians.'[1]

Hence, Ts-ophî-th = S-ophi-s, later Psôphis. Such a name as 'Watch-tower' would be by no means uncommon; and thus there was also a Psôphis in Achaia, another in Akarnania, another in Libya, and the citadel of Zakynthos was also so called, as Pausanias notes.[2] Stephanos Byzant. says that

[1] Canon Is. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, ii. 97.

[2] Vide Steph. Byzant. in voc. Psôphis.

Psôphis was a son of Lykâôn or a daughter of Eryx. That Psôphis was a son or a daughter will not trouble us, and that he should be a son of Lykâôn is just what we should have expected. Psôphis, as a daughter of Xanthos, son of Erymanthos, is more puzzling. This is the Aryan pedigree of the place, and I understand it that Xanthos ('the Yellow,' or perhaps 'the Bright') was the river, afterwards called the Erymanthos, and itself the child of the mountain range of that name. So, in the Troad, Xanthos was the name given by the gods to the river called Skamandros by mortals. Psôphis, as a daughter of Eryx, remains for consideration. But we will first recapitulate the Phoenician genealogy of the place :—

1. Atel (= Gk. Atlas). Kosmic 'darkness,' = Gk. Nyktimos.

2. Bar-Vaiphêts (= Gk. Korynêtês, 'the Mace-man') = Gk. Periphêtês (= Hêraklês). I may observe that the (more strictly) Aramaic *bar*, as well as the Phoenician *ben* ('son') has been found on archaic inscriptions in the Phoenician alphabet; and that numerous Aramaeans of the coast north of Phoenicia proper had very early maritime intercourse with Hellas. Even the Phoenician alphabet 'Was brought to Greece, not probably by the Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon, but by the Arameans of the Gulf of Antioch, whose nouns ended with the same "emphatic aleph" that we seem to find in the Greek names of the letters *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma* (*gamla*).'[1]

[1] Sayce, *The Phoenicians in Greece* in *The Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1878, p. 63. This able article, which should be most carefully studied in connexion with the present investigation, has been borrowed to a large extent and without acknowledgment by subsequent writers on the subject.

3. Bod- or Bar-Tân ('Servant-of-the-Strong-one'; *cf.* the Phoenician name Bod-Tanit) = Gk. Parthaôn.

4. Ary-Ashtôr ('Lion-of-Ashtôr,' or Ashtâr) = Gk. Aristas. According to Movers, Ari-Êl ('Lion of Êl') is a name of Kamosch (Chemosh), 'the Governor,' who is Ashtâr-Chemosh.

5. Erymanthos. An Aryan stranger, inserted by force of local circumstances.

6. Arin ('Snub-nose') = Gk. Arrhôn. A name apparently applied to the Phoenician Πάταικοι = Kabîrîm, whose form was wholly or partly derived from the Egyptian Ptah-Bes pygmy type. This figure, at the prow of a Phoenician galley, may very probably also represent the Phoenician god Malakhum ('the Mariner'), whose name was discovered a few years ago; and as the eighth Kabir was Eschmûn,[1] may be connected with him as well. Movers identifies Yubal (Iol) with Eschmûn. If so, Eschmûn, then, as Iolâos, was the faithful comrade of Harekhal-Hêraklês.

Further study and comparison will still more elucidate this very interesting genealogy; but suffice it here to have fully indicated its general character. We will now pass on to consider Psôphis as a

[1] Bunglecrumpus, when reviewing a work of mine, cited the form 'Eschmûn' as an instance of my ignorance of Semitic languages, remarking that I must have 'got it from some German.' No doubt the literature of research made in Germany is vastly inferior to the productions of the English school represented by Bunglecrumpus, Sphoon, and Co.; and yet, even in research, a thing or two may occasionally be learnt from our Teutonic cousins. In this instance, however, I followed Lenormant, with whom Schlottmann and others agree. The Greek form Ἐσμοῦνος tells us nothing on the point; and the scholars whom I followed evidently thought that 'Eshmûn' did not give the original sound quite strongly enough. But Bunglecrumpus is sure to know best.

daughter of Eryx. According to Pausanias, Psôphis became by Hêraklês (an incident illustrative of the Phoenician connexion of the place) the mother of Echephrôn ('the Prudent') and Promachos ('the First-in-fight'), who 'changed the name of Phegia to Psôphis, after their mother.' The shrines of these heroes, whose names are either translations or descriptive epithets, were, in the time of Pausanias, 'no longer of any significance.' He also says (VIII. xxiv. 3):—

'In the city of Psophis there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite named Erycinian: only ruins of it now remain. It is said to have been founded by the sons of Psophis; and the statement is probable, for there is also in the district of Eryx, in Sicily, a sanctuary of the Erycinian goddess, which from time immemorial has been esteemed most holy, and is not less wealthy than the sanctuary at Paphos.'

On this passage Mr Frazer remarks:—

'This was the famous Carthaginian sanctuary of Astarte or Ashtareth on Mt. Eryx. Sir E. H. Bunbury thinks that the legends point to the sanctuary on Mt. Eryx "being an ancient seat of Pelasgic worship [whatever this may mean], rather than of Phoenician origin." But the worship, as known to us, appears to have been purely Phoenician; and that the goddess was Astarte is proved by Phoenician inscriptions.'

And he proceeds to quote Robertson Smith, Freeman, and others to the same effect. It is gratifying to find this consensus of opinion even on so obvious a point; and we may leave Sir E. H. Bunbury to enjoy his Aryan heresy in tranquillity. Mr Frazer adds:—'It is somewhat surprising to find a sanctuary of this Phoenician goddess in a remote corner of Arcadia.'[1]

[1] *P. D. G.*, iv. 284.

From his standpoint this must indeed be *very* surprising; and as all the evidence shows that this sanctuary was founded in a remote antiquity, what becomes, in the face of this remarkable fact, of Mr Sikes' laborious efforts to show that M. Bérard's theory of Phoenicians in Arkadia in very early times is probably altogether groundless? May we not fairly ask Mr Frazer to reconsider his position with respect to Semitic influence in early Hellas, and to part company with his doubts anent Melikertês and others? We have been told by the *Athenaeum* that his *Pausanias* has superseded all others and will be *the* work on the subject, both in England and on the Continent. Far be it from me to deny this, but why should not such a work be up to date on the exceedingly weighty question of Semitic influence in and on Hellas, as well as on other aspects of the research? This matter is infinitely more momentous than petty detail about some obscure person who may have once won a prize at the Olympic Games, than the ephemeral differences of the learned respecting questions connected with the structure of many a comparatively unimportant building, or than minute points in present local topography. Surely it will occur to Mr Frazer that a Phoenician sanctuary of Ashtareth cannot have descended upon Psôphis from the clouds; that if there were one such shrine in inland Hellas in archaic times, there must have been various others; and that the Phoenicians, who were naturally such clingers to the coast, must first have established themselves firmly upon the shores of the Peloponnese ere they would have ventured by degrees so far up the country? What a light this sanctuary of Ashtareth at Psôphis throws upon

the whole myth and history of Lykâôn and his family.

But whether our English anti-Semites will hear or whether they will forbear, research proceeds; and, as the mists of ages slowly disperse, we see fresh links which united that originally Phoenician damsel Eurôpa[1] with her sister Asia, well styled by the early Greeks 'the wife of Promêtheus' (the 'Man-of-forethought'), and whose immemorial wisdom and culture have given us nearly all of religion and civilization which we possess.

The next question is, How did Astartê reach Psôphis? I have already[2] quoted Hehn in connexion with Phoenician cypress-culture and the giant Psophidian cypresses which grew around the grave of Alkmaiôn, and were called 'Virgins.' Ashtareth, whatever else she may have been, is 'the Virgin,'[3] the *Parthenos* of the Zodiac; and each of these trees was, in one point of view and in some mystical way, a representative of her and of her choir of female attendants. Hehn observes:—'The place Psophis must very early have invited men to the working of mines, from the peculiar position of the mountain.'

This feature of the locality would have a great attraction for the Phoenicians, as in Thasos and elsewhere. Hehn appears to hold that the Astartê-cult reached Psôphis by way of Akarnania and Zakynthos, and through 'Teleboeans and Taphians who, as . . . . it seems, first sailed from Greece to Sicily.' These adventurers, as I understand him, would meet with

[1] Vide Hêrod., iv. 45.

[2] *Sup.*, p. 165.

[3] As to the Semitic Virgin-goddess, vide Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 177 *et seq.*; on 'Αστάρτη ἡ Παρθένος, 'Astartê, daughter of Heaven, *πάρθενον*' (Sanch., i. 6).

the Erykinian cult in Sicily, and subsequently brought it into Akarnania, Zakynthos, and northern Arkadia. But I think this view misconceives the underlying historical facts; and we know nothing *aliter* respecting any such proceedings by Têleboai and Taphioi. Phoenicians would naturally approach the Peloponnese from the east and south-east; and, as a matter of fact, they did so. They established themselves firmly at Kythêra in the first instance, true to their cautious principle of choosing an island not far from the mainland, as the basis of a new enterprise. Speaking of the city of Kythêra, Pausanias (III. xxiii. 1) says:—'The sanctuary of the Heavenly Goddess is most holy, and of all Greek sanctuaries of Aphrodite this is the most ancient. The goddess is represented by a wooden image armed.'

The Euphratean Ishtar who, as the Morning-star, is goddess of war, and as the Evening-star, goddess of love, is the origin of Aphrodîtê, armed and unarmed. The coast of Lakônikê had another special attraction for the Phoenicians:—'The finest shell-fish for the manufacture of the purple dye, next to the shell-fish of the Phoenician sea, are furnished by the coast of Laconia.'[1]

We may trace Phoenician progress round the southern shores of the Peloponnese, amongst other things, by the cypress-groves, the places called Kyparissiai, such as Asôpos in the Lakonic gulf, where was a sanctuary of a goddess whom the Greeks styled Athêna Kyparissia.[2] We can trace this same progress by the shrines, sanctuaries, temples, contests, and agreements of the gods. At Taineron, the other great Lakonian headland, was the very sacred shrine

[1] Paus., III. xxi. 6.

[2] Vide *sup.*, p. 165.

of Poseidôn. 'Some Greek poets have said that here Hercules [as Mr Frazer will call him] dragged up the hound of hell.'[1]

'The people of Gythium [in the Lakonic gulf] say that their city was founded by no mortal man, but that Hercules and Apollo, after contending for the possession of the tripod, and making it up again between them, jointly founded the city. In the market-place of Gythium there are images of Apollo and Hercules, and near them is an image of Dionysus.'[2]

So, step by step, we may trace very plainly the progress of the Semitic immigrants up the Eurôtas Valley to Amŷklai and Lakedaimôn. At Amŷklai 'There is an image of Aphrodite called "the Aphrodite beside the Amyklean god"';[3] or, in other words, 'the Ashtareth beside Resheph-Mikal.' This god is the Kypriot and Phoenician Resheph ('the Thunderbolt'), also known as Mikal, the lightning or celestial fire, personified as Amŷklas, mythic founder of Amŷklai. His son, the beautiful Hyakinthos (= Adônis[4]), slain in his youth, was there honoured at the great festival of the Hyakinthia. At Lakedaimôn itself was 'A temple of Warlike Aphrodite: the wooden images here are as ancient as any in Greece';[5] a temple of the fettered Aphrodîtê, already noticed;[6] and 'an image of Aphrodite Ambologera ("she who staves off old age").'[7]

[1] Paus., III. xxv. 4.

[2] Ib., III. xxi. 7. As to this great contest for the Delphic Tripod, and for further illustration of the contest of gods and heroes, and of Hêraklês, vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 96 *et seq.*

[3] Paus., III. xviii. 5.

[4] Vide Duncker, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 60.

[5] Paus., III. xvii. 5.

[6] *Sup.*, p. 172.

[7] Paus., III. xviii. 1.

At this point let us take the wings of a dove and fly away to the Sicilian shrine of Aphrodîtê Erykînê. At a very early period the Phoenicians had established on the summit of the steep Mt. Eryx on the north-west coast of Sicily a shrine of Aschthârth Erekhayîm, = *Astartê longae vitae auctor*,[1] = Aphrodîtê Ambologêra. This foundation subsequently became very famous, and from the word *erek* arose the Eponym Eryx, called a king of Sicily. The disputes which naturally arose between the inhabitants of Sicily and the intruding Phoenicians are symbolized by a contest between Eryx and Harekhal, the usual champion of the latter :—'The story goes that Hercules wrestled with Eryx on these terms : if Hercules won, the land of Eryx was to be his ; but if he were beaten Eryx was to take the kine of Geryon and depart. . . . Hercules slew Eryx.'[2]

'Eryx, who then reigned in Sicily, is known to have conceived so keen a love of the oxen from Erythea, that he wrestled with Hercules for them, and staked his kingdom against the kine.'[3]

Other examples of this method of contending for supremacy in mythic contests can be given. Thus, of Olympia—'Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronus himself for the kingdom ; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus.'

For 'the Elean antiquaries say that Cronus first reigned in heaven.'[4] But the Phoenician era of

[1] Vide *Corpus Inscr. Semit.*, No. 135 ; Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 148.

[2] Paus., III. xvi. 4. [3] Ib., IV. xxxvi. 3.

[4] Ib., V. vii. 4. As to other mystical instances of wrestling, vide Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, iv. 211 *et seq.*

power and influence in Hellas passed away; the Aryan Zeus triumphed over the Semitic Kronos, whilst other Semitic gods became Hellenized like their votaries, and, to outward seeming, lost their original character. So sings Timotheos of Milêtos (*Frag.* xii.):—'Zeus is the new king, but of old Kronos was ruler.'

As Erek-hayîm was translated by 'Ambologêra,' so it was transliterated by 'Erykînê'; and therefore, here at Sparta we find the Erykinian goddess on her way northwards towards Psôphis. But Erykînê is not the only Greek transliteration of the name of this divinity. In Attikê she appears as Êrigonê, whose story I have given elsewhere:—

'*Prokyôn* appears in an interesting legend which illustrates the introduction of the Semitic constellation-figures into Hellas. Dionŷsos, on arriving at Attikê, was hospitably received by Ikarios, to whom he gave the vine. Some peasants who became intoxicated, thinking they were poisoned, murdered Ikarios and buried his body, which was at length found by his daughter Êrigonê, who was conducted to the grave by his faithful little dog Maira ("the Sparkler"). Êrigonê, from grief, hung herself on the tree beneath which he was buried. The god then punished the Athenians with madness, in which condition the Athenian maidens hung themselves. At length Dionŷsos, Ikarios, and Êrigonê were propitiated by the institution of the Festival of the Aiôra ("Suspension in air," swinging); and Ikarios was translated to the skies as *Boôtês*, Êrigonê as *Virgo*, and Maira as *Prokyôn*. . . . Ikaros or Ikarios is identical with the Megarian hero Kar the Karian, who is said to have built the Akropolis of Megara, where were temples of Dionŷsos and Aphrodîtê and a statue of Asklêpios-Eschmûn. The underlying historical fact is that the Karians were constantly employed by the Phoenicians as mercenaries. . . . The circumstance that Êrigonê and Êrigoneia ("the Early-born") were independent Greek names for the Dawn, merely

facilitated the transliteration. . . . The supposed fate of Êrigonê and the ritual of the Aiôra are connected with the cult of the goddess of the net and chains.'[1]

That is, with Diktynna, Eurynomê, Andromeda, and others, who are either really identical or closely connected; another of this group is Helenê Dendritis, about whom one story ran that she ultimately fled to Rhodos, and was there 'hanged on a tree.'[2] But this phase of the goddess I cannot here examine further; and, passing on into Boiôtia, we find that Erekhayîm-Êrigonê has come there also, under the name of Herkyna:—'Ἕρκυνα avec l'esprit rude: cf. *Venerus Heruc* dans l'inscription companienne et *Venus Hêrycina* dans une inscription sicilienne (*C. I. L.*, x. 7121, 8042); l'esprit rude et l'*h* rendent l'*aleph* initial de ארך.'[3]

Pausanias (IX. xxxix.) gives a most interesting account of the cult of Trophônios and Herkyna near Lebadeia, which

'Is separated from the grove of Trophonius by the river Hercyna. They say that Hercyna, while playing here with the Maid [Korê, *i.e.*, Persephonê] . . . . had a goose in her arms, which she involuntarily let go. It flew into a hollow cave and hid itself under a stone, and the Maid entered and caught the bird as it lay. . . . They say that water flowed from the spot where the maid lifted up the stone, and that the river was therefore named Hercyna. There is a temple of Hercyna on the bank of the river, and in the temple is an image of a girl with a goose in her arms. In the grotto are the sources of the river and standing images, with serpents coiled around their sceptres. These images might be supposed to be Aesculapius and Health [Hygeia], but they may be also

[1] *Semitic Influence*, pp. 173–4.

[2] Paus., III. xix. 10.

[3] Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, pp. 148–9.

Trophonius and Hercyna, for they think that serpents are as sacred to Trophonius as to Aesculapius. . . . The most celebrated things in the grove are a temple and image of Trophonius: the image resembles Aesculapius. . . . There is also a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Europa.'

As Herkyna = Erykînê, Ashtareth, as a healing goddess who bestows long life and retards old age, so Trophônios = Baal Terophah or Trôphâ ('the Lord-of-cure');[1] and, again, as will sufficiently appear from the above quotation, Trophônios is Asklêpios and Herkyna is Hygeia. The bird-symbolism is interesting, and Pausanias may be quite right in calling the bird a goose, although goose and swan, a special bird of Aphrodîtê, are frequently difficult to distinguish in rougher art. Ashtareth-Aphrodîtê rides upon swan and goose in art,[2] and, in archaic art, sometimes carries a dove; whilst the Egyptian Seb appears at times with a goose upon his head. But the present instance is different from all these, and the figure of a girl carrying a goose will probably have come in origin, like the familiar Greek design of Boy and Goose (not Cupid and Swan), from the Euphratês Valley, where a divine personage is represented as holding ostriches by the neck, a symbolical expression of the power of controlling the stormy forces of Nature. Since Phoenician art and literature have all but perished, we may well be unable to find parallels with, and an exact explanation of, every surviving fragment. The reader will note the usual silly story here anent the goose. These idle inventions, so constantly met with in Pausanias, made up in the attempt

[1] Vide Bérard, *ut sup.*; *sup.*, p. 137.

[2] Vide Cesnola, *Salaminia*, p. 204, 'Statuette of Venus riding on a Goose.'

to explain the then inexplicable, are really very useful in their way, as excellent illustrations of how not to do it. The observation about 'Demeter whom they surname Europa, and say she was Trophonius' nurse,' is very instructive. We have seen[1] that Eurôpê is the Semitic Erebh, and the Semitic character of Trophônios is further illustrated by his having a Semitic nurse. But, besides this, we observe that, to a Semitic nurturing mother-goddess the name of Dêmêtêr, an Aryan nurturing mother-goddess, had been given by analogy. Dêmêtêr was no Eurôpê who had come from Phoenicia and Krêtê. Lastly, although the goddess had for centuries been styled Dêmêtêr, yet it had never been forgotten that she was not altogether the true old Hellenic Dêmêtêr, and her original foreign name, in its Greek dress, clung round her to the last. The votary intending to descend into the subterranean shrine of Trophônios 'First of all lodges for a stated number of days in a certain building which is sacred to the Good Demon and Good Fortune.'

This Semitic dyad are Baal-Gad ('the Lord-of-Good-luck') and Baalâth Gîddê or Meni (Tychê-Fortuna). During the votary's sojourn in this building he 'observes rules of purity,' bathes in the river Herkyna, and 'gets plenty of flesh from the sacrifices'; just as we read in the Hebrew prophet:—'But as for you that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for Gad, and that furnish the drink offering unto Meni.'[2] As Boiôtia and Arkadia constantly, as we have seen, supply Semitic doublets, so in this instance also we find the Agathodaimôn in each. Between

[1] *Sup.*, p. 158.

[2] Isaiah, lxv. 11.

Megalopolis and Mainalos was a temple of the Good God.'[1]

Pausanias, somewhat dubiously, infers that Zeus may have been intended by this epithet; but there is no real reason to think so. 'Agathos Theos' is not one of his titles. Baal-Gad is connected, on the one hand, with the planet *Jupiter*, as a fortunate star; and doubtless, on the other, with Baal-Trôphâ himself. The 'Good Demon and Good Fortune' are also Trophônios and Herkyna. 'He who goes down sacrifices both to Trophonios himself and to the children of Trophonios.'

These 'children of Trophônios' are the Semitic Penates, domestic gods, 'guardians and givers of comfortable life,' Heb. Teraphîm.[2] 'Also to Apollo, Cronus, Zeus surnamed King, Charioteer Hera, and Demeter, whom they surname Europa.'

The votary sacrifices to Apollôn as the equivalent of the solar Baal; to Kronos, as a great Semitic divinity whose sway, however it might have passed away in Hellas generally, was still, to some extent, recognized here; and to Zeus surnamed 'King,' *i.e.*, to Melekh, styled euphemistically Zeus Meilichios ('the Kindly') though the epithet is also connected with Maimaklês ('the Angry'). As to Kronos:—

'Philôn [of Byblos], who of course regarded Kronos as an Hellenic divinity, which indeed he became, always renders the name of the Semitic god Îl or Êl ("the Powerful") by "Kronos," in which usage we have a lingering feeling of the real meaning of the name. Now from Q-e-R-eN naturally arises such a form as K-e-R-eN-os, Karnos. But, in such cases, the Greek was often wont to drop the first vowel. Thus, the Sem. *Kar-kôm* = Gk. Κρό-κος. Karnos, therefore,

[1] Paus., VIII. xxxvi. 3.

[2] Vide *Gen.* xxxi. 19, etc.

naturally reappears as "Kronos" ("the Powerful"). *Qarnâîm*, as the name of a horned divinity, is found in the name and cult of the rayed (=horned) Sun-god Apollôn Karneios, so ancient and famous amongst the Dorians; and which, as Otfried Müller has shown, was derived from Thebes.'[1]

The votary also sacrifices to a goddess called Hêra Hêniochê ('the Charioteer'). This is not an epithet of the Aryan consort of Zeus, although the Homeric poet has bestowed a chariot on her. As M. Bérard says:—'Cette déesse au char, nous la connaissons par l'inscription égyptienne, *Astarté, reine de chevaux* [=Dêmêtêr Hippia], *maîtress du char dans Outeshor*, et la Coelestis de Carthage est une déesse au char. . . . Les monnaies de Sidon portent au revers le char de la déesse ou Astarté au taureau, Ἐυρώπη, ἡνιόχη.'[2]

The votary also sacrifies to Dêmêtêr Eurôpê, of whom I have spoken. Thus the companion-divinities of Herkyna are a Semitic group, some of whom bear Aryan names such as Zeus, Hêra, and Dêmêtêr. M. Bérard notes that Herkyna, like the Black Dêmêtêr of Phigaleia, held a bird in her hand; but I do not think that the Goose of Herkyna corresponds to the Dove of this Dêmêtêr Melainis. At the same time the Black Dêmêtêr certainly = the Black Aphrodîtê,[3] 'Astartê, queen of horses.' The Black Dêmêtêr was represented in human form, except that she had a mare's head and mane (as Hêniochê), with figures of serpents (like the serpent-goddess Herkyna) and wild beasts about her head. In one hand she held a dolphin, on which Aphrodîtê at times rides in art; and in the other a dove, her

[1] R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence*, p. 116; vide K. O. Müller, *Doric Race*, i. 373.

[2] *Cultes Arcad.*, pp. 149–50.

[3] Vide Paus., II. ii. 4, etc.

special bird.[1] People have been much exercised over this horse-headed Ashtareth, I suppose because she is found on Hellenic ground; and they had a theory, based on nothing in particular, that non-Aryan divinities were never or 'hardly ever' found there. A moment's reflection should suffice to remind them that the valleys of the Nile and of the Euphratês and Phoenicia supply us with specimens of ram-headed, sheep-headed, hawk-headed, lioness-headed, ibis-headed, cat-headed, eagle-headed, monster-headed, bull-headed, cow-headed, and similar divinities. What, then, is there really strange about a horse-headed goddess? Or about a fish-tailed goddess? Nothing. What is practically impossible about her is that she should be Hellenic in origin. I only notice this most interesting Trophônios-cult so far as to show that Erykînê = Êrigonê, = Herkyna, = Erek-hayîm, = Aphrodîtê Ambologêra, = Ashtoreth, otherwise Ashtareth, who bestows length of days. And now, I trust, the reader will see what is the true connexion between Psôphis and Eryx. It is not that the Astartê-cult was brought to Psôphis direct from Eryx, either in pre-historic or in any other times; but that the cult of Astartê Erek-hayîm was introduced from time to time, in the course of Phoenician progress, alike into Boiôtia, Attikê, the Peloponnese, and Sicily.

Returning to Sparta we will next notice a few indications of Phoenician progress northwards in the direction of Psôphis. Says Pausanias (III. xx. 8, 9):—

'On the road from Sparta to Arkadia . . . . we came to a place called the Horses' Tomb. . . . The seven pillars which are not far from this tomb . . . . [text mutilated] in accordance, I believe, with an

[1] Vide Paus., VIII. xlii. 3.

ancient fashion, which they say are images of the planets.'

An unfortunate lacuna in the text prevents the sense of the passage from being fully understood; but it is clear that some erection, possessing planetary symbolism, at one time stood here. Such a circumstance, like the seven gates of Thebes, is a certain indication of Semitic lore and influence. I need not further refer to Lykosoura and Mt. Lykaios just over the Arkadian frontier. Phigaleia, on the southern Arkadian border, was evidently a very centre of curious Semitic cults. That one small place should possess two such sanctuaries as those of the Horse-headed Dêmêtêr and the fish-tailed Eurynomê is strange enough. But, besides these, Phigaleia was evidently a noted centre of the occult, not to say black, arts, so familiar in Western Asia. We read that when Pausanias, the Spartan general, through a mistake fatally stabbed a girl named Kleonikê in the dark—'This guilt Pausanias was never able to expiate. He tried all sorts of purifications, he offered supplications to Zeus, God of Flight, and he had recourse to the wizards at Phigalia in Arcadia. But all in vain.'[1]

These Phigaleian wizards were evidently an old established fraternity, of high repute and wide renown. North of Phigaleia was the little town of Aliphêra, whose Semitic name has already been noticed.[2] One of the festivals of this place is very interesting:—'They celebrate a public festival to one or other of the gods: I believe it is to Athena [but he evidently does not know]. At this festival they sacrifice first of all to the Fly-catcher, praying to that hero over

[1] Paus., III. xvii. 8.

[2] *Sup.*, p. 150.

the victims, and calling upon the Fly-catcher; and when they have done so, the flies do not annoy them any more.'[1]

Elsewhere Pausanias (v. xiv. 2) says:—'They say that when Hercules . . . . was sacrificing in Olympia, he was greatly plagued by the flies; so either out of his own head or by the advice of some one else, he sacrificed to Zeus Averter of Flies, and thus the flies were sent packing across the Alpheus. In the same way the Eleans are said to sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies at the time when they drive the flies out of Olympia.'

This Zeus Apomyios of Olympia, and evidently also of Aliphêra, is one of those divinities bearing a Greek title whom even the cautious Mr Sikes appears to admit is of Semitic origin.[2] Mr Frazer gives many interesting references respecting the Olympian flies; and remarks, 'I never saw such swarms of flies anywhere.' He also of course refers to Baal-Zebub ('Lord-of-the-Fly'), god of Eqron. It will be observed that it is the Phoenician Harekhal who sacrifices to the Zeus Apomyios, who, I think, was the Baal Averter-of-flies, revered at Eqrôn, and doubtless also elsewhere. After referring to the Locust Hêraklês, Worm-killing Hêraklês, Foxy Dionŷsos, and Mouse Apollôn, Mr Frazer observes:—'We may conjecture that in these and similar cases the god or hero who is implored to keep off or destroy insects or vermin was originally conceived as himself a fly or locust or worm, etc., but as being at the same time the king of flies, locusts, worms, or what not, and as therefore able to protect mankind from the attacks of his subjects.'[3]

[1] Paus., VIII. xxvi. 4. [2] Vide *sup.*, p. 111. [3] *P. D. G.*, iii. 559.

Of course if we like to indulge in such conjectures we can do so. How vain they are I have shown by the test instance of 'Apollôn, Mr Lang, and the Mouse.'[1] As regards locusts, we have the Semitic opinion of Agur the son of Jakeh that 'the locusts have no king.'[2] When at Olympia I was not at all annoyed by flies, but I was evidently more fortunate than Harekhal and Mr Frazer.

Advancing northwards from Aliphêra, the Semitic associations of the important town of Hêraia and of the river Alpheios have already been referred to;[3] and, taking the north road from Hêraia along the banks of that thoroughly Semitic river the Ladôn,[4] we reach a tract of land in the territory of the town of Thelpousa, otherwise Telphoussa, called Onkeion. Here was the sanctuary of Dêmêtêr Erînys ('the Wrathful'), and the scene of the mystical union of Dêmêtêr Hippia and Poseidôn Hippios in equine form, the product of which was a daughter whose name the neighbouring Arkadians 'are not wont to divulge to uninitiated persons,' and the famous steed Areiôn ('Better,' *i.e.*, than other horses). The incident took place whilst Dêmêtêr, as a mare, 'grazed with the mares of Oncus. . . . Oncus, according to common fame, was a son of Apollo, and he reigned at Onceum in the land of Thelpusa. . . . It is also said that when Hercules was warring on the Eleans he begged the loan of the horse [Areiôn] from Oncus, and conquered Elis, riding on the back of Arion to the fights.'[5]

It is really astonishing how admirably Pausanias,

[1] *Semitic Influence*, p. 58 *et seq.*
[2] *Prov.* xxx. 27.
[3] *Sup.*, pp. 150, 155 *et seq.*
[4] Vide *sup.*, p. 152.
[5] Paus., VIII. xxv. 3–5.

without being in the least aware of it, has preserved the early Semitic history of this part of the country. Onkos (Ὄγκος), who gives his name to the region, which even in the time of Pausanias still possessed 'the temple of Oncaeatian Apollo,' with whose horses is Dêmêtêr Hippia, and who aids and abets the Phoenician Hêraklês in his contest against the Eleans, is 'the Burning-one,' naturally called a son of Apollôn, and the male of the Phoenician dyad of which Athênê Onka of Thebes[1] forms the female. That is to say, Onkos = Baal Khamman. I shall not further here refer to Astartê Hippia and Poseidôn; but even these do not exhaust the Semitic divinities of this remarkable region, for

'The Ladon, after leaving the sanctuary of the Fury [*i.e.*, Dêmêtêr-Hippia-Erînys-Astartê] on the left, passes on the left the temple of Oncaeatian Apollo, and on the right a sanctuary of the Boy Aesculapius [why not call him 'Asklêpios'?], where is the tomb of Trygon. They say that Trygon [*i.e.*, the 'Fruits-of-the-earth'], was a woman who nursed Aesculapius; for they relate that Aesculapius, as a child, was left to perish at Thelpusa, but was found and reared by Autolaus, a bastard son of Arcas.'[2]

Here, reading between the lines, we may see the introduction of the Asklêpios-cult, for the introduction of a cult is frequently symbolically described as the infancy of the god who is the object of it; some apparent opposition to the new phase of religion; and, lastly, its support by a member of the Phoenician house of Lykâôn. We now arrive at the town of Thelpousa, which was said to have obtained its name from a nymph, daughter of the river Ladôn. Says Pausanias (VIII. xxv. 2, 3):—'The Ladon flows past

[1] Vide *sup.*, p. 127.

[2] Paus., VIII. xxv. 6.

Thelpusa, which lies on a great hill on the left bank of the river. Most of the city is at present uninhabited. . . . There is a temple of Aesculapius, and a sacntuary of the Twelve Gods : most of this sanctuary is now level with the ground.'

Old Thelpousa had all but passed away in the time of Pausanias. With respect to its name, M. Bérard makes the following very ingenious suggestion. The planet *Venus*, with which Ishtar-Ashtoreth-Astartê has always been connected, in the Euphratês Valley was originally called by the Sumero-Akkadian name of Dilbat or Delebat ('the Ancient Proclaimer' —of Morn and Eve). This name, which constantly appears in the cuneiform records, has also been preserved by Hêsychios, who gives—Δελέφατ· ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστήρ, ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων. Delephat, M. Bérard finds, in the Greek forms Têlephassa, otherwise Telephassa, which is said to have been the name of the wife of Agênôr and mother of Kadmos, Eurôpê, and Phoinix. That Têlephassa in Greek meant 'Wide-shining,' does not affect the question. Many Greek adaptations of foreign names have also a Greek meaning, which probably sometimes influenced the form they took. Telephassa, according to M. Bérard, reappears in the Arkadian Telphoussa or Thelpousa, and also in the Boiotian mountain-name Tilphousion and spring Tilphousa.[1] This view, that Thelpousa is the town of the goddess Delephat-Têlephassa, is extremely probable. We must, of course, regard the evidence as a whole; and not, as Prof. Sphoon so often does, consider a proposed etymology apart from the general subject and environment. 'Thelpousa,' again, is an impossible name on the Hellenic side.

[1] Vide Paus., IX. xxxiii. 1.

I am unable to supply an undoubtedly Phoenician example of the use of this name, and for a simple reason which I have elsewhere expressed thus :—

'Philôn of Byblos, who translated the work of Sanchouniathôn ('the Gift-of-the-god-Sakun') *On the Phoenician Letters*, in a passage preserved in Eusebios (*Prop. Euan*, i. 10), says, Εἴρηται δὲ ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις περι Ἐθωθιῶν. As Lenormant observes, "Les ἐθώθια sont manifestement les signes célestes, *êthûth, hébr. ôthôth*" (*Les Origines*, i. 552). The Phoenician treatises on the constellation-figures, like the works of Phôkos and Eudêmos, have perished; and it is this loss of nearly all the early authorities which compels us to demonstrate the knowledge of the ancients on the subject of the laborious piecing together of innumerable scattered fragments of evidence whose combined force is irresistible; whilst, at the same time, had some single lost work of antiquity come down to us, we should probably have reached the same goal without an effort.'[1]

These town-names of Western Arkadia are all impervious to any Greek explanation. Thus, Phigaleia = Sem. Phegâ ('Fortune') + Êl (*i.e.*, Kronos), 'The Fortune-of-Kronos,' with which we may compare the Heb. proper name Pagiel.[2] Hannibal ('the-Grace-of-Baal') and other Phoenician names are similarly formed. Between the towns of Thelpousa and Psôphis was another sanctuary of Asklêpios, whose cult evidently most extensively prevailed in the district; and, some four miles further north, the traveller, in the days of Pausanias, reached a boundary-stone, 'with the inscription in old letters :—"Boundary between the territories of Psophis and Thelpusa."' Such, then, was the easy route by which Ashtoreth Erek-hayîm reached Psôphis, and plentiful are the vestiges of Semitic influence on the way.

[1] *Prim. Cons.*, i. 149–50. [2] *Numb.*, i. 13.

The famous necklace of Harmonia is also connected with Psôphis. It 'was called the necklace of Eriphŷle, because she accepted it as a bribe to betray her husband,'[1] Amphiarâos. His son Alkmaiôn, after his father's death and pursuant to his command, slew Eriphŷlê, and fled to Psôphis, then named Phêgia, where he married Alphesiboia, daughter of Phêgeus, and presented her with the necklace. To avoid 'the avenging spirit of Eriphyle' he afterwards fled to Akarnania, and there wedded 'Callirhoe, daughter of Achelous.' Returning to Phêgia against his will, to obtain the necklace for Kallirhoê, 'He was murdered by Temenus and Axion, the sons of Phegeus. These sons of Phegeus are said to have dedicated the necklace to Apollo at Delphi.'[2]

In this story about the necklace, Hehn, probably correctly, sees a yet further illustration of Phoenician influence at Psôphis. I have already mentioned the cypresses, sacred to Ashtoreth, which grew around the grave of Alkmaiôn, and the cypress-grove of Eurynomê;[3] and I have quoted Hehn's reference to similar Semitic cypress-groves in Greece.[4] I will conclude this illustration of Phoenician Psôphis by a rather more detailed notice of these latter instances:—

'In the acropolis of Phlius there is a grave and a sanctuary of awful and immemorial sanctity. The goddess of the sanctuary is named Ganymeda by the most ancient Phliasian authorities, but Hebe by the later authorities.'[5]

'At Phlîous and at Sikyôn, the temple of Dia, a name given to Hêbê, is revered.'[6]

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[1] Paus., IX. xli. 2.
[2] Ib., VIII. xxiv. 4.
[3] *Sup.*, p. 160.
[4] *Sup.*, p. 165.
[5] Paus., II. xiii. 3.
[6] Strabo, VIII. vi. 24.

'In a tomb at Megara there was found a terra-cotta figure which has been supposed to represent the Hebe of Sicyon. It represents a young goddess leaning . . . on a rectangular monument. She is clad in a long tunic and a great veil.'[1]

It is obvious that the original name of this goddess was a form represented in Hellenic fashion by Ganymêda; that Hêbê being her Aryan analogue, she was ultimately called Hêbê; and that she was also spoken of, in a general way, as Dia ('the Divine'). Her shrine, grove, and cult were of remote antiquity. As usual, the *crux* and solution of the problem lie in the name. From the Semitic root *k-v-n*, with the general meaning of 'standing upright,' being 'established,' and a secondary meaning of 'chief,' 'first-born,' etc., comes the Babylonio-Assyrian *Kaivanu* (the planet *Saturn*), Heb. *Kiyyûn*, Phoenician *Khun*,[2] *Kun*, or *Kon*; Arabic, *Keiwân*. *Kaivanu*, astronomically considered, represented *Saturn* as 'the Eldest son of the Sun-god,' *i.e.*, as the planet who had gone out furthest into space, but with the planetary cult, especially in its progress west of the Euphratês, developed, as indeed the name suggested, a pillar-cult, so familiar to us in Phoenicia and Israel. One of the titles of Phoenician Kronos was Kon[3] ('the Pillar'), and the god and his worship are referred to in the difficult passage in Amos (v. 26), where we should perhaps read, 'So shall ye take up the pillar of your King (*Melekh*) and Kiyyûn the star-god, your images.'

[1] Frazer, *P. D. G.*, iii. 79.

[2] Cf. the Phoenician town-name Chun (1 *Chron.* xviii. 8), Lat. Conna.

[3] Vide Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 289.

In Phoenicia this pillar-cult was connected alike with gods and goddesses. Prof. Sayce observes :—

'Like Ashtoreth, Ashêrah carries us back to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. The word is an Assyrian one, and denotes the rich fecundity of Nature. Ashêrah was the goddess of birth and growth. . . . She was symbolized, like Astartê at Paphos, by an upright cone of stone, or the trunk of a tree which had been chipped of its branches. Both symbol and goddess were often confounded together, and the Jewish prophets denounce them both under one and the same name. The symbol, however, was not peculiar to the goddess. Baal also, as god of generation, had upright columns, the "sun-images" [*khamanîm*] of the Old Testament, dedicated to him, two of which stood at the entrance of the great temple which Hiram reared to Baal Melkarth at Tyre.'[1]

We have already met with Ashtoreth in Hellas, as Artemis Orthia ;[2] and we may notice how completely Mr Farnell misunderstands the origin and historical cult of the goddess, when he interprets 'the title **Ὀρθία** as designating nothing more than a primitive type of the erect wooden idol,' and observes that 'The phallic sense which Schreiber (Roscher's *Lexicon*, ss. 586, 587) imputes to the word is quite impossible.'[3]

We are considering a goddess of Phlîous, and we shall find an exact illustration both of her and of what has just been said, in a goddess of the neighbouring city of Sikyôn. At Sikyôn, says Pausanias (II. ix. 6) :—'Beyond the shrine of Aratus is an altar to Isthmian Poseidon, an image of Gracious Zeus, and an image of Artemis named Paternal. The

[1] *The Gods of Canaan* in *The Contemp. Review.*
[2] *Sup.*, p. 168.
[3] *Cults*, ii. 453.

images are rude: that of Zeus resembles a pyramid, and that of Artemis a column.'[1]

Here is a group of three Semitic divinities: (1) Poseidôn; (2) Zeus Meilichios = Baal - Melekh in pyramidal form, *i.e.*, in the form of the fiery column sacred to Melqârth, for in Greece the word 'pyramid' was erroneously supposed to be connected with the Greek πύρ, and to symbolize the ascending flame, and in Egypt, from the days of the New Kingdom, small votive pyramids had been employed in a solar and igneous symbolism;[2] and (3) a goddess called Patrôa ('Belonging-to-one's-fatherland'), evidently set up originally in the familiar pillar-form by some Phoenician immigrant, and ultimately, like Ephesia and Eurynomê and Limnaia and Orthia, and a dozen other unanthropomorphic foreign divinities, called Artemis. Here, then, at Sikyôn, hard by Phlîous, we find the Semitic Pillar-goddess by the side of the Pillar-god Baal Melqârth, who sets up his pillars of Hêraklês-Harekhal to mark his triumphant progress. Shall we wonder, then, to find this Pillar-goddess enshrined in her archaic sanctuary amid her cypress-grove at Phlîous? Certainly not. We recognize her. She is Kun-middoh[3] ('the Lofty-pillar') = Gany-mêda. And, observe, that even when the goddess is steeped in Hellenism and identified with Hêbê ('Youthful-prime'), she still preserves her large Oriental veil, and still leans on her 'rectangular monument,' = the primitive Pillar.

[1] Κίων, a word probably derived from the Semitic. Fick (*Wörterbuch*, i. 242) would connect it with the Aryan root *ski*, but I do not follow his reasoning.

[2] Vide Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Anct. Egyptians*, p. 16.

[3] So in 1 *Chron.* xi. 23 the word is used of a man of lofty stature.

Hard by Phlîous is Nemea, near which was located the contest of Harekhal with the lion, whose cave in the mountains was 'still shown' in the days of Pausanias. This fight is merely a western reduplication of the god and lion contest of Western Asia :—

'Like much else of Greek mythology, the twelve adventures of Herakles were brought to Greece from Babylonia through the hands of the Phoenicians, and it has long been recognized [by enlightened students] that Herakles is but a form of Baal Melkarth, the sun-god of Tyre. . . . The lion slain by Gilgamesh is the lion of Nemea slain by Herakles; the winged bull made by Anu is the famous bull of Krete.'[1]

At Nemea was the sanctuary of a divinity styled Zeus Nemeios. Says Pausanias (II. xv. 2) :—'In Nemea there is a temple of Nemean Zeus, which is worth seeing,' though the roof had fallen in, and there was no image left. 'The temple stands in a grove of cypresses ; and it was here, they say, that the serpent killed Opheltes ['the Snaky' infant son of Lykourgos, king of Nemea], who had been set down by his nurse on the grass ;' or, rather, on a bed of celery, as an oracle had warned Lykourgos that his son must not be set on the ground until he could walk. Hypsipylê, the nurse, had put down the child, whilst she drew water from a spring for the Seven against Thebes ;[2] and the prophet Amphiarâos, one of them, having declared that the child's fate was an omen of their own, they named Opheltês Archemôros ('the Forerunner-of-

[1] Smith and Sayce, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 177 ; vide R. B., Jun., *Eridanus: River and Constellation*, Appendix III. The Sun-god and the Lion.

[2] Semitic *Tebah*. This place-name is erroneously rendered 'Tibhath' in the A. V. in 1 *Chron.* xviii. 8, and still more erroneously, 'Betah,' in 2 *Sam.* viii. 8.

death'), and instituted the Nemean Games in his memory, the prize being a crown of wild celery. 'Here is the grave of Opheltês enclosed by a stone wall, and within the enclosure there are altars. Here, too, is a barrow, the tomb of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes.'

Elsewhere Pausanias (VIII. xlviii. 2) says:—'At the Isthmus the pine, and at Nemea the celery, were adopted as symbols of the sufferings of Palaemon and Archemorus.'

I do not pretend to understand all this thoroughly, but Zeus Nemeios, with his cypress-grove, spring, and serpent, shows the same drakonic affinities as Kadmos, Trophônios, Asklêpios, and other Phoenician personages; whilst the fate of Opheltês recalls that of Aipytos.[1] The circumstance that it would be fatal to him to be set on the ground has a distinct solar suggestion; for it is when the Sun-god touches earth that he dies in the west, as the heel of Achilleus is his weak point.[2] Archemôros, like many a young sun-god, is destined to an early doom, and is the child of Lykourgos, who may be a Darkness-personage.[3] The skein of mythic tradition is at times almost impossible to disentangle completely. Some of the most difficult instances are those in which Aryan natural phenomena myths are interlaced with traces of Semitic influences and faint records of actual occurrences.

At Titânê, near Sikyôn, was a

'Sanctuary of Aesculapius . . . . and within the enclosure are ancient cypress-trees. . . . The gables [of the temple]

[1] *Sup.*, p. 134.

[2] I do not say that Achilleus is the Sun-god.

[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 178.

contain a figure of Hercules. . . . In the colonnade are dedicated images of Dionysus and Hecate, Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods, and Fortune [a company of foreign divinities]: these images are of wood, but the image of Aesculapius, surnamed Gortynian [from Gortŷna, in Arkadia] is of stone. People are afraid to go in among the sacred serpents; so they set down food for them at the entrance.'[1]

The whole account is very illustrative of the non-Hellenic origin of Asklêpios. The last example of the cypress-grove shall be from Korinth. Says Pausanius (II. ii. 4):—'In front of the city is a grove of cypresses named Craneum. Here is a precinct of Bellerophon and a temple of Black Aphrodite.'

The name Kraneion appears to be derived from the Doric κράνα ('a spring,' 'fountain'), there being a spring near. As to Bellerophôn:—

'A Corinthe, dans le sanctuaire de l'isthme, nous trouvons, auprès du Mélikertès marin et du Palaimôn infernal, le céleste Bellérophon et Pégase, son cheval ailé. Βελλεροφόντης ou Ἐλλεροφόντης semblent deux adaptations helléniques de *El Raphon* et *Baal Raphon*, le *dieu de la Santé*, qui seraient exactements traduits par Θεὸς Σωτήρ.'[2]

And, having illustrated from Lykophrôn and others the intimate connexion between Bellerophôn, Hêraklês and Palaimôn-Melikertês, M. Bérard remarks:—'Sur les monnaies de Tyr, Melqart est à cheval sur un hippocampe ailè (cheval, cheval marin, Pégase); de la main gauche, il saisit la bride de l'hippocampe.'

On this Korinthian Aphrodîtê Melanis, Mr Frazer observes:—

'At Delphi there was a small image of the Sepulchral Aphrodite, beside which the dead were invoked to come and partake of the libations offered to them (Plutarch, *Quaest.*

[1] Paus., II. xi. 6, 8. [2] Bérard, *Cultes Arcad.*, p. 258.

Rom. 23). Holwerda is inclined to regard the Black Aphrodite as a goddess of the grave, like the Venus Libitina of the Romans, and he regards as probable the view of Engel that there was an Aphrodite Fury, like the Demeter Fury of Thelpusa,[1] comparing Hesychius, 'Ερινύς· *δαίμων καταχθόνιος ἢ 'Αφροδίτης εἴδωλον.*'[2]

The sombre and chthonian side of the Semitic Aphrodîtê, on which she receives such epithets as Epitymbia and Tymbôruchos, has been fully treated by M. Bérard.[3] But let us get rid of the idea of an Aphrodîtê or Dêmêtêr Fury, whatever this may mean. The word 'Fury' is not at all appropriate; and, as we have seen,[4] the Dêmêtêr of Thelpousa was only a Dêmêtêr in name. The 'image' or 'representation' of Aphrodîtê referred to by Hêsychios, is merely the Black Aphrodîtê herself, called an Erinnys because Erînys[5] and the Erînyes were thought of and represented as draped in black.

[1] *Sup.*, p. 216.

[2] *P. D. G.*, iii. 19.

[3] Vide *Cultes Arcads.*, p. 220 *et seq.*

[4] *Sup.*, p. 215.

[5] As to the derivation of the name, I quite agree with the final pronouncement of Max Müller, 'The goddess that is called Saraṇyû in the Veda is called Erînys in Greek' (*Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, ii. 540). If anyone likes to accept the opinion of Mr A. A. Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 8) that Dyaús=Ζεύς is the only Vedic and Greek equation beyond reasonable doubt, all I can say is that I envy the robustness of his want of faith. The absurdity of divers of the arbitrary phonetic laws devised by certain modern sages, and existing only in their own minds, is constantly being shown by the fact that, like imperfect astronomical calculations, they have to be continually corrected under the pressure of fresh evidence. Again, to derive 'Ερινύς from *ἐρινύειν* ('to-act-like-an-Erînys') is an admirable instance of *Hysteron-proteron.* This school of etymologists probably hold that Mausôlos obtained his name from his mausoleum.

And let this suffice touching Psôphis and cypress-groves in Hellas.

X.

Anyone at all familiar with the shadowy crowd of saints and Madonnas who have special sway in innumerable localities within the bounds of Latin Christianity, will not wonder at the great number of divinities, demi-gods, semi-divine heroes and other supernormal personages whom we encounter in the pages of Pausanias. Again, as one Madonna is indefinitely multiplied, so is one sun and one Sun-god. The great phenomena and forces of Nature are but few in number, yet their variant aspects are, like the differences in local detail, practically innumerable. We meet the same personage again and again under different names and phases; the combinations of the chess-board are countless, the pieces but few, and many of them alike. And after the physics come the metaphysics, whose range is necessarily equally limited:—

> 'A few old questions for ever debated,
> A bundle of hopes and a packet of fears;
> A few old fancies again restated
> In a different form, and a few old sneers.
> God is, or is not; or, Who can know it?
> Drink and be merry. No, fast and pray.
> Work for the true and the lovely, O poet;
> Work for whatever is sure to pay.
> Precious is knowledge. 'Tis nought but confusion.
> All has been fated. No, all is free.
> Facts are firm. They are but an illusion,
> Never was eye or mind that could see.'[1]

Pausanias had his doubts and difficulties. His

[1] R. B., Jun., *A Trilogy of the Life to Come*, pp. 31–2.

opinions on various matters of belief altered as the years rolled on. His mental attitude is not always consistent. A child-like faith, not to call it credulity, is at times strangely mingled with a somewhat advanced scepticism. But, take him altogether and he is a good, true-hearted, learned man, by no means devoid of shrewdness, and with a noble love of the truly great and patriotic ; and a real hatred of baseness and treachery of every kind. And in studying the immense mass of facts which he has combined in so small a compass, if we wish to use this exceedingly valuable material as an aid in the reconstruction of the earlier history of Hellas, it will be well to bear in mind the following points which should be specially aimed at in such a research :—

1. With respect to the greater divinities found in Hellas, we must endeavour by an exhaustive analysis of the evidence available to determine whether or not they are Aryan in origin. This investigation must neglect no branch of the evidence, whether mythic incident, etymology, cult or ritual. The idea, now entertained in some quarters,that etymological research can be dispensed with, is simply ludicrous. And this study must be carried on without prejudice. We do not belong to the days when everything was thought to have come out of the Ark, or to the days of reaction which followed, when Kadmos was supposed to have been as genuine a Greek personage as Zeus himself. With all due respect, too, to our classical dictionaries, we sadly want another edition up to date. As regards these greater divinities the primâ facie presumption will be that, being found in an Aryan country, they are Aryan gods.[1]

[1] Vide *sup.*, p. 113.

2. As an assistance in the foregoing enquiry, the contests between divinities, including wars such as that of Hêraklês against Êlis, should be carefully analyzed and considered.

3. Words, names and epithets which the Greek language is unable to explain, deserve a very special attention.

4. The cases of foreign divinities who appear in Hellas in Hellenic guise and bearing the names of Aryan Greek divinities, require most careful treatment. Instances of these are afforded by Apollôn Ismênios, Karneios; Artemis Braurônis, Ephesia, Eurynomê, Kallistê, Kelkaia, Limnâtis, Orthia, Patrôa, Taurikê; Athêna Ilia, Kyparissia, Onka; Dêmêtêr Erînys, Hippia, Melainê; Hêra Akraia, and Zeus Apomyios, Basileus, Hypsistos, Laphystios, Lykaios, Meilichios.

By such enquiries, in which Pausanias probably gives more assistance than any other classical writer, shall we supplement the efforts of the Spade, that great restorer of the links between East and West, and at the present time so ably wielded in Krete. One of the chief figures around whom the contest between the supporters and the opponents of extensive Semitic influence in Hellas rages, and will probably for some time continue to rage, is undoubtedly that of Hêraklês, whose name, notwithstanding its intensely Greek appearance, the Aryanistic philologist is utterly unable to explain. As long as our classical dictionaries continue to repeat that the doings of a Semitic Sun-god of the Outer-world were, in comparatively late times, arbitrarily tacked on to a native Greek divinity called Hêraklês, we shall make no progress in any real comprehension of the vast cycle of the Harekhal-myth. Hêraklês, the dweller at Thebes and at Tiryns; the

opponent of such purely Aryan divinities as Aïdês, Apollôn, Arês and Hêra; the Lion-slayer, first worshipped in Greece at the Phoenician Mârath (Marathôn),[1] is linked by a thousand ties and incidents with Western Asia in general and with Phoenicia in particular. And I will conclude with what is, I believe, a novel illustration of this fact; and one, moreover, which shows how I, rightly or wrongly, think that we should study Pausanias. Speaking of Sikyôn he says (II. x. 1):—

'In the gymnasium is dedicated a stone image of Hercules. . . . . Elsewhere there is a sanctuary of Hercules: the whole inclosure they name Paedize: in the middle of the enclosure is the sanctuary, and in the sanctuary is an ancient wooden image. . . . They say that Phaestus, coming to Sicyon, found the people offering to Hercules as to a hero: he would do nothing of the sort, but insisted on sacrificing to Hercules as to a god.'

'Phaestus . . . . is said to have been one of the sons of Hercules,'[2] or, according to others, a grandson of Hêraklês; and to have migrated, by direction of an oracle, from Sikyôn to Krêtê, where he founded the town of Phaistos. The Kretan Phaistos was an ancient place, mentioned by Homer, and it is far more probable that the connexion was from Phaistos to Sikyôn. But, at all events, Hêraklês was a patron-divinity of Phaistos, whose coins show his contest with the Hydra and Crab, and other features of his career. His son or descendant Phaistos finds that at Sikyôn the divinity of Hêraklês is not yet recognized; he insists that it shall be, and alters the ritual proper for a hero to that proper for a god. What a clear indication of a foreign divinity, whose worship is

[1] Vide Paus., I. xxxii. 4. [2] Ib., II. vi. 3.

making way in the country by degrees. Where can we find such an incident respecting any of the great Aryan gods of the land? Mr Frazer refers to the statement of Hêrodotos (ii. 145) that Hêraklês, Dionŷsos, and Pan were considered by the Greeks to be the youngest of the gods, and that Hêraklês lived about nine hundred years before himself. This would make the introduction of the Harekhal-cult to have taken place about B.C. 1350, which is very likely fairly correct.

But, further, the whole enclosure of Hêraklês was called by the Sikyonians Paidizê, a name the meaning of which it is evident that they had not the slightest idea. In innumerable instances it has happened that very archaic names have been faithfully preserved by local yokels and others for centuries after their origin and meaning have been completely forgotten. The conservative character of ordinary people, especially in matters of religion, explains how it is that names, rites, ceremonies, and countless petty observances, which once had a special intention and peculiar significance, are retained in use. The old men always said that this enclosure was called Paidizê; and, when they were boys, old men had said the same. Now to me a name such as this, is at once the *crux* and the key of the passage. It is really of small consequence whether or no Hêraklês had a sanctuary at Sikyôn; but who Hêraklês was, who brought him there, what was the nature of his cult, and what effect it had on the Greek mind, these are all questions of very considerable interest. Of such a word as Paidizê, like many other names preserved by Pausanias, we can make nothing on the Greek side. Mr Frazer will not help us; he has no interest in such questions,

and does not notice them. Let us, then, turn elsewhere.

Amongst Phoenician proper names, as given by classical writers, we find Βοδόστωρ and its contraction Βώστωρ. This is explained by Gesenius[1] as 'Servus Astartes,' and, similarly, by Schröder[2] as '=(ת)ברעשתר Knecht der Astarte.' It will be observed that Schröder adds the *tau* in a bracket, and I think that the slight mistake which the two eminent scholars make is in introducing Ashthârth (Ashtart), whereas the name Bod-Ashtar ('Servant-of-Ashtar') alludes to the male divinity.[3] This name also appears as 'Βαδέζῶρος, rex Tyriorum, Ithobalis filius, Jos. c. Ap. 1, 18'; and it is a variant of this Βαδέζω type that we meet with in the present passage as Παιδίζη. The dropping, or change, of *r* final into a vowel, is common enough, *e.g.*, Himilca-r, Himilc-o. The Paidizê of Pausanias, therefore = an original Bod-Ashtar, which will have been either a title of Harekhal, or, possibly, of some Phoenician who introduced his cult. Now, although this etymology will be rejected by those who regard philology as useless in archaic research, and, as of course, by the school of Bunglecrumpus, yet I confidently submit it to anyone who has the power of weighing evidence (probably a rather rare gift) as an almost absolute demonstration. And how much depends upon it. How nearly impossible it is for anyone free from prejudice, in the face of such facts, to maintain the Aryan origin of Hêraklês. And, if we admit that he was introduced into Hellas by non-Aryans, it is obvious that the

[1] *Script. Ling. Ph.*, pp. 403–4.
[2] *Die Phön. Sprache*, p. 93.
[3] Vide *sup.*, p. 186.

whole ordinary common view of early Greece, its gods and history, must be recast. As for those who, in their studies of the past, reject the science of language, they are like men who, refusing the service of their eyes, grope about by the assistance of sound and touch. Several laborious studies of this type—I will not name them, for I respect the writers—have added nothing to the sum of human knowledge. If philologists have constantly to correct their theories, if etymologists have frequently gone astray, human experience is exactly the same in all other branches of knowledge and effort. Are we to wait for a navy until some yet unborn chief constructor has excogitated the perfect vessel? Slowly true principles, sound method, real research, progress; but the good that men do lives after them, and from the unknown grave of our worthy old Trudge-over may yet spring a tree of knowledge whose fruit shall enable us of these latter days better to understand the course of history and the progress of the world.

Note.—Mr H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 1901, makes several dogmatic statements which are in direct opposition to the views and principles advocated above and in some of my former works. Thus, he declares: 'The horse-headed Demeter, a characteristically Pelasgic goddess, was as much an Artemis as was the fish-tailed Eurynomê' (p. 198). Yes, just as much, and just as little. Mr Hall has a great deal to say anent the Pelasgoi, but to little purpose. According to him, they may or may not have been Aryans; to attempt to reconstruct their history is 'utterly hopeless,' and 'next to nothing' can be made out of the legends about them. He will do well, therefore, in future to leave them severely alone. He thinks that because theriomorphic forms occur in Mycenaean art, therefore the Mycenaeans worshipped theriomorphic daemons. Babylonian art shows us that such a supposition may be quite baseless. As well deduce the Christian cult from a gargoyle. But he admits that Aphrodîtê

is 'Semitic'; and asks, 'Was Poseidon also not of Aryan origin?' This is distinctly encouraging. Following an error of Robertson Smith, he asserts, 'There was *no* Semitic wine-god' (p. 239, n. 3); and that 'the deity with the grapes on the rock of Ibrîz is "kleinasiatisch," not Semitic,' although one has only to look at the figure (vide Ramsay and Hogarth, *Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, Pl. iii.) to see that it is absolutely Semitic. He sneers at *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, which, however, he does not attempt to refute, merely asking the silly question why don't I write 'Dionusiak Muth.' At the same time, evidently having but a slender regard for consistency, he spells a familiar English word 'akropolis,' and talks about 'Kyzikos.' I should be foolish indeed to spell the English word *myth*, 'muth'; but, really, why should not he, on his lines, write 'Kuzikos'? That he sneers at Prof. Sayce is, of course, characteristic of his school; and he has a special note to show that I have got wrong over the name of the goddess *Samelâ*, whom I connected with Semelê. It would have been more ingenuous had Mr Hall stated that I have been somewhat misled by the false reading in *W. A. I.* III. lxvi., col. 5, l. 1, put forth by the Institution of which he is a member. The corrected reading will be *Isimelâ*, and the result the same. The archaeology of Mr Hall's laborious work is distinctly superior to its mythology. He has, however, added but very slightly to our knowledge of Mycenaean times.

Of far higher value is Mr A. J. Evans' lucid and learned *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, 1901. If writers would remember that the Mycenaeans were Greeks and that their religion was Greek, and, further, that their art was Greek in origin, however affected in its developments by non-Hellenic elements, we should be spared some fantastic theories based upon false or dubious interpretations of fragments of Mycenaean art. Mr Evans gives some excellent explanations of scenes on Mycenaean gems, etc., and shows how greatly this art was affected by Semitic, Egyptian, and Asianic (by which term I refer to the non-Aryan and non-Semitic peoples of Western Asia) influences. It is of course a question how far we are entitled to read back into Mycenaean religion the borrowed designs of Mycenaean art. If the pair of lions on the Lion's Gate at Mykênê derive their origin from the pair of solar lions of the Egyptian sun-god, the question still remains, How much, if any, of Egyptian religion was introduced with this and other reminiscences of Egyptian art? But Mr Evans has amply showed that Mycenaean art, though fashioned

by Aryan hands, is not Aryan in origin, nor, mainly, in feeling. In the foregoing pages I have only slightly touched on the question of non-Aryan art in Hellas; and as regards what is now styled 'Mycenaean' art, the subject is still in its infancy. We shall know far more when we obtain copies of all or some of the 'hoard of 500 clay impressions of Mycenaean gems and signets displaying 150 different types, affording a priceless record of Mycenaean glyptic art and religious symbolism,' recently (1901) discovered by Mr Hogarth in Krete. Meanwhile, there is nothing in the pages of Mr Evans to refute the views I have advanced, and much to confirm their general tendency. He does not believe that Zeus Lykaios and the Sun-god of Amŷklai (vide *sup.*, p. 204) were Phoenician divinities; but he considers that they were non-Hellenic, and were 'taken over by later Greek occupants of the country.' And, so far—good.

SAMUEL AND TEIRÊSIAS.

It has often of late been more or less positively asserted that the Hebrews, prior to the Babylonian captivity, had little or practically no belief in a future state and in a life beyond the grave; and as in every branch of investigation there is almost always a stage when the refutation of earlier errors is followed by corresponding mistakes in an opposite direction, and when prominent leaders of thought are apt to push their theories steadily towards paradox, it is very desirable from time to time to exercise the right of private judgment upon the materials before us, instead of hastily accepting any hypothesis which chances for the moment to be popular. And this task is often far easier than may be supposed; for he who has no particular theory to support, who is no partizan but merely an independent observer, indifferent to special views and only wanting the facts of the case, will frequently arrive at conclusions simple enough in themselves, yet strangely hidden from erudite but biased eyes. In examining the earlier Hebrew belief respecting an unseen world beyond the grave, and which, as regards the living, was of course a future state, I propose to draw attention to what is really implied by the familiar story of the appearance of the ghost of Samuel to Saul, an incident which

serves as an excellent pivot for the investigation, inasmuch as the narrative is pre-exilic, and, at the same time, incidentally illustrates a great number of allusions to the abode of the dead, which are scattered throughout the Books of the Old Testament. It was, moreover, evidently known and accepted by the chronicler (1 *Chron.* x. 13), who certainly sees nothing either impossible or even improbable in the account. At a later day it is expressly confirmed by the son of Sirach, who declares 'Samuel prophesied after his death, and showed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy' (*Ecclus.* xlvi. 20). Lastly, Josephus gives the episode at length, with many commendations of the generosity of the Witch of Endor and of the bravery of Saul. It is nothing to the present purpose whether the story be true or false; suffice it that at four different periods in Hebrew history, whether pre-exilic or post-exilic, the learned accepted it as a fact; and if the learned 'believed in ghosts,' we may make no question that the commonalty did likewise.

We are told, then, that Saul had 'put away' those who possessed soothsaying daemons and the Yidounîm, or those gifted with unlawful knowledge (wizards). The former are expressed by the word *Ôb* or *Aub*, a variant of the Assyro-Babylonian *Âbu*, a 'necromancer,'—a circumstance which shows that the craft was equally familiar in Palestine and in the Euphratês Valley,—and meaning primarily a leathern bottle or skin for holding water; then, a human being regarded as a skin containing a daemon or daimonic power; and, lastly, also applied to the daemon (the Jinn of the Arabs) or the phantom invoked. The LXX, therefore, generally render the expression by 'Ventriloquists'

(Ἐγγαστριμύθοι), and the same phenomenon when met with in Greek regions is styled 'a spirit of Pythôn' (*Acts* xvi. 16) or 'divination.' In late classical times ventriloquists, as such, were commonly called Πύθωνες. By those who assume that the Books of *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* were not then in existence, Saul's action in suppressing the Professors of the Black Art may be supposed to have been based upon the law, contained in the 'Book of the Covenant' (*Ex.* xx.-xxiii.), 'Thou shalt not suffer a sorcerer to live.' But, although persecuted, these occultists were profoundly believed in. The modern practitioner is liable to suffer on the ground of obtaining money by false pretences; but the sin of his ancient predecessor lay in the fact that his pretences, in everyone's opinion, were true, and Saul the persecutor, like his famous namesake, pays tribute to the majesty and genuineness of witchcraft. The king having received no answer from Yahveh, either through dreams, by 'the Lights' (*Urîm*), whatever they may have been, or by prophets, has recourse to a female necromancer of Endor, a region where the earlier inhabitants of the land continued to dwell with the sons of Israel (cf. *Jos.* xvii. 11; *Jud.* i. 27); and where, therefore, the ancient cult of black magic had a somewhat better chance of survival. Preliminaries adjusted, 'Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel.' Nothing can exceed either the lofty confidence of the witch or the faith of the king. It is unnecessary to consider the scene in detail, where the several actors in it were standing, and so forth; or to suggest possible incidents not mentioned in the story. Suffice it to note that the woman was the first to catch sight of the

shade of Samuel, and exclaims, 'I see a god [or 'gods'; the shade may have been accompanied] ascending out of the earth. . . . An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a mantle.' Saul recognizes Samuel, who sternly enquires, 'Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?' and then foretells the king's doom, his prediction including the statement, 'To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me.' Instead of 'be with me,' the LXX read 'with thee have fallen,' but the former version is not only by far the most striking and impressive, but also one which, as we shall see, in every respect harmonizes with the archaic and widespread Western Asian concept of Sheôl or the Underworld. Thus we find that, in the belief of the time, Samuel (1) continued to exist after death, (2) at rest in Hades under the earth, (3) retaining his memory and prophetic power, and (4) that Saul and his sons were soon to join him there.

Before recalling some of the Old Testament descriptions of Sheôl, which is neither the grave wherein the body is placed, nor 'hell' in the sense in which that word is now so familiar, we may well pause to ask a question, often very strangely overlooked in this connexion. What were the opinions of the neighbours of the Israelites respecting the life beyond the grave? If the former believed in it, so in all probability did the latter. Now, so far as we know, the various tribes, races, and nations with whom the Israelites came in contact in early times, and many of whom were their kinsmen, were strong believers in the continued existence of the soul after death, and had much to say on its future state and condition. Egyptian thought is simply saturated with visions of the world of spirits and superhuman existences, and with the future of

the soul, triumphant or luckless. The Sheôl believed in by the different inhabitants of the Euphratês Valley, that primaeval home of spirit cult, sorcery, magic, and divination of all kinds, is, in general features, precisely the Sheôl of Phoenicia and of the Old Testament. In the now familiar archaic Babylonian poem, *The Descent of Ishtar*, it is described as 'the land whence none return, the house of darkness, the house from whose entrance there is no exit, the house from whose visitors the light is excluded, the light they behold not, in darkness they dwell' (ap. Sayce). We know this region. It is 'a land of gloom, as obscurity itself, of the shadow of death, and of disorder, and where the light is as obscurity,' and where, when men go thither, they 'shall not return' (*Job* x. 21, 22). But the statement 'none return,' means that none, as a rule, return, and does not exclude possible exceptions; for Ishtar herself returned, although with considerable difficulty. In the great *Gilgamesh Epic* we read—

> 'I descend to the house of darkness,
> The dwelling of the god of the Great-city'

(an Akkadian name of Hades, as the place where the vast hosts of 'the Greater Number' are collected):

> 'To the house out of which there is no exit,
> To the house from whose entrance the light is taken,
> The place where dust is their nourishment'

('the bars of Sheôl, if withal there is rest in the dust,' *Job* xvii. 16).

> 'The light is never seen, in darkness they dwell.
> In the house, O my friend, which I will enter,
> For me is treasured up a crown;
> With those wearing crowns who from days of old ruled the earth.
> They drink limpid waters.' There

'Dwell the lord and the unconquered one,
Dwell the priest and the great man,
There dwells Etana'

(an archaic Babylonian king, either the origin of, or confused with the Greek Titan).

'There dwells the Queen of the lower regions' (ap. Sayce),

who reappears in the Homeric Persephonê. And of Êabani, the friend of Gilgamesh, and who has been slain, we read —

'The earth opened, and
The ghost of Eabani like dust from the earth (arose).
Tell, my friend, tell, my friend,
The secrets of the earth which thou hast seen.
I cannot tell thee, my friend, I cannot tell thee.
(How) can I tell thee the secrets of the earth which I have seen?' (ap. Sayce).

Here we have a close parallel with the rising of Samuel. There was also a brighter side in Babylonian belief respecting the future state, but this was not so prominent.

To take another instance. The recent German excavations at Sinjirli and Gershin, about twenty-five miles north-east of the Gulf of Antioch, have revealed, amongst other interesting remains, an inscription by King Panammu,—a name which appears elsewhere in the Karian form Panamyês,—and who was a contemporary of the Assyrian King Tukulti-pil-eshar (Tiglath Pileser), which contains a prayer that the soul of the king may be with and be united with his god Hadad. Well may Prof. Sayce remark:—'It is difficult to think that, while the natives of Sinjirli thus believed in a future life, their Jewish kinsfolk had to wait for the Babylonian exile before they could learn

the doctrine.'[1] And if we know but little, or, in some cases, nothing of the belief of Amorites, Ammonites, Amalekites, Edomites, Elamites, Girgazites, Hittites, Jebusites, Mitannians, Moabites, Philistines, Zamzummîm, and other early nations and tribes of Western Asia, in a future state, we should not for a moment attempt to make capital of nescience by advancing theories, or, still worse, dogmas that they had no such faith. On the contrary, we should accept the overwhelming probability that, like Sumero-Akkadians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, and indeed mankind generally, whether savage or civilized, these various nations possessed their full complement of ideas upon the matter.

Fortunately, however, we do possess a most striking specimen of the general archaic belief of Western Asia, in that sombre yet splendid scene depicted in the Homeric *Nekyia* (*Odyssey*, xi.), an account in which the shadowy dreariness of Sheôl is amply relieved by the splendour of Greek genius; and at the present day it is needless to remind the reader that this part of the poem is simply saturated with non-Aryan Orientalism. We have only to compare it with the Hades scenes depicted in Euphratean records, or in the Books of *Job*, *Psalms*, *Isaiah*, and *Ezekiel*, to see at a glance that all are variants of one original idea, and are founded on one basis-concept. Prof. Max Müller, who will not be suspected of minimizing Aryan claims in such a matter, observes:—'Many scholars in describing to us what the ancient Greeks thought about life after death, have taken the *Nekyia* for their chief, nay, for their only guide. But this rhapsody has by some excellent critics been considered

[1] *The Academy*, Oct. 14, 1893, p. 323.

as very peculiar and exceptional, and as being possibly the work of a different, probably a Boeotian poet.'[1] Boiôtia, it will be remembered, was a special centre of Phoenicianism in Hellas; and whoever may have written the *Nekyia*, it is perfectly clear that this standpoint, just as much as it harmonizes with the mind of Western Asia, so does it run counter to the general flow of archaic Greek thought on the subject, which, on the whole, is in very fair accord with the teachings of the Vedic hymns. King Odysseus, like King Saul, would consult the shade of a majestic prophet respecting his future destiny. He reaches an appointed spot at the world's edge, performs the appropriate ritual, and 'anon came the soul of Teirêsias, with a golden sceptre in his hand.' He knows Odysseus, remembers the past, foretells the future, and then 'went back within the house of Hades,' which is described as 'a land desolate of joy,' where dwell 'the strengthless heads of the dead,' 'phantoms of men outworn.' 'All go unto one place' (*Ecclesiastes* iii. 20)—Teirêsias, Achilleus, Tantalos; good, bad, and indifferent; great and small; Samuel, Saul, Jonathan. True, there are divisions in this place, as indicated alike in the account of the descent of Ishtar or of the rich man and Lazarus. In the Hades of the *Nekyia* there is a sort of penal settlement where Sisyphos and other great offenders are tormented; and there is some gulf or gap betwixt them and 'the mead of Asphodel' where dwell the shades of the great heroes and their attendants. This dread part of Hades reminds us of the Abaddon ('Place-of-destruction') of the Old Testament. 'Sheôl and Abaddon are before Yahveh' (*Prov.* xv. 11), *i.e.*,

[1] *Anthropological Religion*, 1892, p. 314.

'Sheôl is naked before Him and Abaddon hath no covering' (*Job* xxvi. 6), although concealed from mortal eyes, and they 'are never full' (*Prov.* xxvii. 20). Yet there is room. And 'the dead know not anything' (*Ecclesiastes* ix. 5) that is happening in the Upper-world. Agamemnôn and Achilleus would fain hear from Odysseus of the doings of their sons. The writer of *Ecclesiastes* does not mean that the dead do not exist; but those who pass 'the gates of Sheôl' (*Is.* xxxviii. 10) become 'strengthless,' the Rephaîm (*Ps.* lxxxviii. 10) or 'Weak'-ones. Sheôl, therefore, cannot praise Yah (*Ib.*, cxv. 17), a name which =.the Babylonian Yau; for, as the Hebrew poet says, it is a rule 'since man was placed upon earth' that 'he shall fly away as a dream, and shall not be found' (*Job* xx. 4, 8); or, as Antikleia says in the *Nekyia*, 'The spirit like a dream flies forth.' She flits from the hands of Odysseus 'as a shadow or even as a dream'; and the shades of the suitors pass 'as bats flit gibbering in the secret place of a wondrous cave,' which Sheôl is. The voices of the dead generally, regarded vaguely as sounds pertaining to shadows, dreams, or dust-clouds (an Akkadian description of ghosts), and also the voices of evil spirits, were supposed to be faint, weak, and whispering. 'Thou shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as of a dead man arising from the earth' (*Is.* xxix. 4). Wizards 'peep and mutter' (*Ib.*, viii. 19). The Odyssean picture of Sheôl was limned centuries prior to the captivity; it was not borrowed from the Babylonia of the great Nebuchadrezzar. And when Ezekiel draws his weird, dark picture of Sheôl-Hades, to which the kings and multitudes of Egypt, Assyria,

Elam, and other neighbouring nations are to descend, and where their chiefs, like Agamemnôn and Achilleus, converse (Ez. xxxii.), he, a priest of Israel, a man who has been styled a 'High Churchman,' had not abandoned at a moment's notice his own belief and accepted that of Babylonia. He merely gave utterance to the faith which he and his people had held for centuries alike with Babylonia and with the other regions which shared the belief represented in the *Nekyia*. If the corresponding account of the fall of 'the king of Babylon' (*Is.* xiv.) be post-exilic, this fact merely shows the persistence of archaic ideas in a comparatively late age. The same remarks apply to the Sheôl-passages in the Psalms; whether pre-exilic or post-exilic they are in exact accordance with archaic and pre-exilic thought. Men 'like sheep are laid in Sheôl; Death is their shepherd . . . . and their beauty shall the Under-world consume away' (*Ps.* xlix. 14). But, according to early Euphratean belief, deliverance from this state of things was possible in some cases. So, in Greek legend, Thêseus had been rescued from Hades; and, similarly, the Psalmist asserts 'God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheôl' (*Ib.*, 15); whilst the pre-exilic Hosea exclaims, 'I will ransom them from the power of Sheôl; I will redeem them from death: O Death, where are thy plagues? O Sheôl, where is thy destruction?' (Hos. xiii. 14).

The same presentation of the Under-world and of the unseen life in death is consistently maintained throughout the Old Testament. Jacob, supposing Joseph has been devoured by a wild beast, exclaims, 'I will go down into Sheôl unto my son mourning' (*Gen.* xxxvii. 35). It is quite immaterial for the

present question whether *Genesis*, as we have it, is a wholly post-exilic composition ; the ideas and material found in it are undeniably archaic. When Jacob 'yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his fellow-tribesmen' (*Gen.* xlix. 33), the meaning is that his soul joined the spirits of his ancestors in Sheôl, where they had continued to exist. And so in the Book of *Exodus* Elôhîm describes Himself as being 'the God of Abraham,' which He could not have been had not Abraham then existed. Thus we come to the brave dictum of Tennyson, 'The dead are not dead but alive.' In the Book of *Numbers* Korah and all his company are described as going down 'alive into Sheôl,' the locality of which is thus fixed. The LXX, as of course, render Sheôl by 'Hades.' The king of Babylon is to be brought down 'to Hades, to the foundation of the earth.' As regards the good, Sheôl, or a portion of it, assumes an ever milder aspect, until at length it brightens into Abraham's Bosom, and is ultimately lost in the splendour of Paradise (=peri-dyke), the old Persian *Pairidaêza*, an 'enclosure' or place securely fenced in, where not Death, but the Lord is the Shepherd. So in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, cap. xix., we read how 'Christ takes Adam by the hand, and the rest of the saints join hands, and they all ascend with Him to Paradise,' which is above the Upper-world (Earth).

And the mention of Paradise, a word reaching Palestine through the intermediary of the Greeks, may remind us that the theory of the influence of the creed of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) on that of Israel, is in reality as chimerical as the notion that Zoroastrian monotheism was derived from Hebrew sources. Thanks to the efforts of a series of brilliant specialists

from Burnouf to Darmesteter, we are now well acquainted with the Zoroastrian faith, which, prior to the accession of Darius I. B.C. 521, was not in a position to affect the belief of Israel. And, as a matter of fact, what single tenet or phase of religious thought can be shown to have been borrowed by the latter from the former? The doctrine of the existence of angels and spirits of all kinds, good, bad, and indifferent, had been part of the religious heritage of Babylonia and Western Asia generally from prehistoric times. And it must always be remembered, in connexion with any question as to whence this or that idea was originally derived, that some four-fifths of the history, literature, knowledge, and belief of the Euphratês Valley are still unknown to us; and so much has come from this region that it may well have been the home of other famous arts and beliefs.

But, to instance a particular point: let us take the dogma of the Resurrection of the Dead. Theopompos, cir. B.C. 320, wrote that in Magian belief the dead were to rise again; and the *Zamyâd Yast* declares that 'the dead will rise, life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored' (ap. Darmesteter). The date of the composition of the *Yasts* is quite uncertain; Haug would place most of them in the fifth century B.C., and several later. Speaking on this question of Iran and Israel, Mr A. W. Benn observes, 'It is certain that the author of Daniel believed in a resurrection.' To be sure; just as certain, in fact, as that Shakspere believed in the existence of Queen Elizabeth. 'A few Psalms contain some more or less enigmatic expressions pointing in the same direction. They date from a time when Israel lived in close contact with the pure and lofty

religion of Zoroaster';[1] whence, it is suggested, these psalmists derived the doctrine of a resurrection. On this view it may be observed (1) that the date of these Psalms is still an open question; (2) that the religion of Zoroaster, which I have no wish to belittle, 'pure and lofty' as it may once have been, was already in its decline in the time of Artaxerxês I.; and (3) that there is not a tittle of evidence of any actual borrowing. The theory is a bare possibility. When, may we ask, did Palestinian writers live 'in close contact' with the religion of Zoroaster? The historical fact of the overlordship of Persia supplies no sufficient answer to the question. Multitudes of the King's subjects do not live 'in close contact' with his religion. And if such a dogma as the Resurrection was unknown to Israel, why should her sages have been in a hurry to accept it from Iran? Of course passages in the book of Isaiah which speak of a resurrection are regarded by the 'Progressive' critics (whose labours, learning, and earnestness must command all due respect) as post-exilic. But Ezekiel cannot be so easily disposed of. Long ere the rise of the Zoroastrian religion to power in Western Asia or its contact with Israel,—and be it remembered that even Kuras and Kambyses were not Zoroastrians,—he speaks in the most formal manner of the resurrection of his nation. 'I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves. and bring you into the land of Israel' (Ez. xxxvii. 12). It is in vain that we get rid of 'Thy dead shall live, dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing ye that dwell in dust' (*Is.* xxvi. 19), by first supposing the passage to be post-exilic; and then arbitrarily

[1] *The Academy*, Sept. 5, 1891, p. 190.

regarding it as inspired from Zoroastrian sources, when the dogmatic and matter of fact statements of Ezekiel remain. On the general purport of his utterances I give no opinion here, but that the idea of a resurrection was familiar to him who can reasonably doubt? Again; that the idea of the resurrection of dead persons was not unknown in the Euphratês Valley in early times, is clear from the circumstance that the Sumero-Akkadian god Aśari-uru-duga[1] ('The Chief-who-does-good-to-man'), also called Aśari-nam-tila ('The Chief-of-life'), and identified with Marûduk (Merôdach), was supposed by virtue of certain occult powers to be able to raise the dead to life. And, remembering that Israelites and Phoenicians were alike Babylonians in origin, it is far more probable that they continued through the centuries to hold beliefs more or less familiar to their Euphratean ancestors, than that any of them would have adopted, on very short notice, utterly unfamiliar dogmas whose only recommendation was that they were the creed of conquerors.

To take another point, the poet who addressed Kuras (Cyrus) in the words, 'I am Yahveh and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am Yahveh that doeth all these things' (*Is.* xlv. 6, 7), so far from accepting Zoroastrianism, might almost seem to have had before him the first Fargard of the

[1] Modern research inclines more and more to the opinion that the religion of ancient Egypt was originally derived from the Euphratês Valley (Vide Hommel, *Die Identität der Altesten Babylonischen und Aegyptischen Göttergenealogie und der Babylonische Ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur*, 1892). Aśari has been compared with the Egyptian Asar, Uasar, Heshar, Ὄσιρις, Ὄσιρις, the beneficent god.

Vendîdâd, and to have been solemnly protesting against the doctrine of the alternate efforts of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu as there related. Instead of Zoroastrianism having exercised any influence on the faith of Israel, it will, I think, be ultimately discovered that Babylonia has exercised very great influence on Zoroastrianism taken as a whole, and not limited to the actual compositions and dogmas of Zarathustra himself. To give an instance—a very subordinate one certainly, but the singular character of which will well illustrate the searching nature of this Babylonian influence:—In the *Tîr Yast* we read, 'I will sacrifice unto the stars Haptôiriṉga (the *Wain*-stars) to oppose the Yâtus (Sorcerers) and Pairikas' (Peris, Faries), a statement which is thus expanded in the *Minokhired*, xlix. 15, Haptôiriṉga is 'entrusted with the gate and passage of hell, to keep back those of the nine, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine myriad demons and demonesses, and fairies and sorcerers who are in opposition to the celestial sphere and constellations' (ap. West). Now the origin of all this is that in the Euphratean sphere the Akkadian constellation *Margidda* ('the Long-chariot,' *i.e.*, the *Wain*), in Semitic Babylonian *Narkabtu* ('The Chariot'), for reasons which students of Babylonian astronomy are well able to understand, is styled 'The Lord-of-the-Ghost-world.'[1]

In conclusion, I think that on a reasonable consideration of the evidence, we may believe with confidence that the earlier Israelites held, quite as much as their neighbours, the dogma of a future state and of a life beyond the grave; and that

[1] *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, II. xlviii. 56.

however dreary Sheôl may at times have appeared to a desponding mind, like that of Hezekiah, yet this unseen halting place was not unaccompanied by thoughts of quiet, peace, and rest, nor wholly accepted as the ultimate goal and final abode of the hopeful and aspiring soul of man, but was at times bravely questioned whether its mysterious abysses did not contain a secret which should link the Eden of the past with a Paradise to come.

'Tell me, ye depths,
Rich with experience and diviner types
Of man and woman than the sun beholds;
With prophet-kings, seers in eye and mind,
Freed from their mortal darkness, and who move
Godlike 'mid ghosts; tell me, great treasure-house
Of buried wisdom and of holy aims,
Stored with the loves of all the ages past,
Temple of pause, whose dimly-lighted halls
Encircle forms majestic; crypt divine,
Rare casket, far more wondrous than the work
Wrought by Hêphaistos, and replete with gems
Whose lustre through their sombre setting gleams;
Tomb of fled hope, which all the myriad souls
That Hermês leads adown the shadowed ways,
Can never fill; tell me, dread Oracle,
Where is my home?'[1]

[1] R. B., Jun., *Tellis and Kleobeia*, p. 25.

SAPPHÔ: A RETROSPECT AND A REVERIE.

I.

As we, who are the pilgrims of Love, pass onwards through this darkly-splendid world, by paths which are generally more or less rugged and painful, we find from time to time a strange relief and melancholy pleasure in contemplating the figures of many of the chief votaries of our Master. Innumerable numbers of his martyr-witnesses, like countless stars of lesser magnitudes, are permanently unseen and unknown; but as amid the hush of holy night the faithful stellar chiefs reappear, high in immortal grandeur, so, across the dim and deep abyss of death, and from the centuries that have sunk to the Under-world, the figures whose mightier passion has awed and enraptured the mass of men, rearise at our invocation, shadowy indeed, but with their forms and features lightened by the sunflakes of immortality which have dropped upon them from their Lord. And in this reverie and retrospect we are quite independent of any local standpoint, or of the fashion of a particular period. We may observe what were the ways of Aiolis at the close of the seventh century B.C. We may notice the opinions and prejudices of Brixton or Bloomsbury, of Mayfair or Park Lane, of Slocombe

Podger or Stickwell-on-the-Wolds; or again, of New York, Vienna, or Peking to-day. But we do not chide one century because it differed from another, or one race because they had no ideas save those of their neighbours. Again, our army of martyrs, more or less noble, comprises, as of course, both sexes; but by no means necessarily in sex opposition. Two, indeed, is the favourite number of our king, but a dyad may consist of David and Jonathan, as well as of Romeo and Juliet. Nor, again, need these great votaries of Eros be strictly historical. They are none the less real even though they be what men style semi-mythical; or even, in the view of their poet, wholly mythical. For, so far as man is concerned, the ideal is the daughter of the real; his fancies are but facts seen slightly out of their true perspective. His stories of agony or the wrestling with fate, although apparently the products of an imagination at once delicate and profound, are in reality merely illustrations of the travail of his own soul, pictured in more or less strength and splendour in accordance with the keenness of his apprehension of himself and of his environment. For what we call genius is the power of appreciating and disclosing to an unusual extent the latent potencies of truth and beauty and the capabilities of things. Now these stories of struggle are, from the nature of the sphere of human existence, almost necessarily more or less tragic; and one great phase of tragedy is the apparent failure of an heroic soul. Tragedy, therefore, is generally ended by a death, inasmuch as death is a great lord and king of apparent failure.

Love, then, is desire deep and tender and intense, and in it I include here all that usually goes by this

name, excepting only merely sensual passion, which is this and nothing more, and of which I do not speak. Our lovers may be and are personages of widely different fame and merit or demerit, very erring perchance and therefore very pitiable; but around each and all lingers a splendour, a fragrance, a reminiscence which dazzles, delights, instructs, encourages, warns, and intensifies the spirit of the devotee. There rise before us Achilleus and Patroklos, Tellis and Kleobeia, Harmodios and Aristogeitôn, Periklês and Aspasia, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, David and Jonathan, Antony and Kleopatra, Lancelot and Guinevere, Tristan and Iseult, Laili and Majnun, Jehanguire and Nourmahal, with their compeers in countless starry dyads; whilst others again, in awful loneliness, appear radiating the splendour of their affection like solitary suns. I dare hardly name many of the greatest of these, lest perchance some shallow soul, sitting in the seat of the scornful, 'moving forward the raging lips of strife, will prepare battle against me.'[1] Yet are they all in a fashion linked together, 'and if I find any man who is able to see a One and Many in nature, him I follow and walk in his steps.'[2] I will take, then, one of these figures as the central point of this reverie, the Aiolian Psappha, whom the world knows as Sapphô.

II.

In the days when Alyattês held the sceptre of Lydia, at Mytilênê, the capital of Lesbos, dwelt Sapphô, daughter of Scamandrônymos and Klêis,

[1] Ibykos, *Frag.* xxvi.

[2] Platôn, *Phaidros*, p. 266. Ap. Jowett.

sister of Charaxos the merchant and Larichos the state cup-bearer; according to some, wife of Kerkôlas of Andros, and the mother of at least one fair child, a daughter, Klêis. She is called by Platôn 'Sapphô the fair,'[1] and frequently by Athenaios 'the beautiful Sapphô';[2] antiquity generally regarded her as 'a tenth Muse,' whose grace and sweetness and intensity approached the marvellous. Mr Francis Brooks, in his excellent little work *Greek Lyric Poets*, 1896, styles her 'the greatest woman-poet of antiquity.' Another modern writer says:—'It may safely be affirmed that the loss of Sapphô's poems is the greatest over which we have to mourn in the whole range of Greek literature, at least of the imaginative species.' Aristocratic, rich, and of exquisite refinement, she presided, as a kind of high priestess, over a college of noble and learned damsels, a sort of glorified Girton, where we may rest assured that grace of manner and charm of personal appearance were not sacrificed on the altar of merely intellectual attainment. According to one high authority, her works, together with those of her friend and fellow Lesbian singer Alkaios, were preserved until the time of William the Conquerer; and were then destroyed at Rome and at Constantinople by some of those worthy fools whose extremely respectable excesses are calculated to make angels weep. Others say that her poems, with many others, were burnt cir. A.D. 380. Her special subject was that which is ever the chief theme of all great poets—love. As she hymned Eros, she was necessarily 'erotic'; and as a base meaning has often been applied to this epithet and now

[1] *Phaidros*, p. 235.

[2] *Deip.*, v. 19; x. 24; xiii. 69.

permanently clings to it, she has frequently been regarded as base herself. A woman and a singer of love lays was naturally fair game for the later Athenian Comedy, which was about as able to appreciate the comparative freedom, simplicity, straightforwardness, and yet purity of earlier days and of Aiolic manners, as was the Comedy of the Stuart Restoration to delight in the chastity of Desdemona. The scandal flies down the ages; everyone adds something to it, until it assumes the proportions of a fact that cannot be spoken against; and 'the beautiful Sapphô,' 'a thorough woman, and a poetess into the bargain,'[1] becomes, in popular idea, 'a courtesan,' or little better.

III.

A brief illustration of the worthlessness of this scandal will not be out of place. Athenaios, after one of his allusions to 'the beautiful Sapphô,' says:— 'There was also a certain courtesan named Sapphô, a native of Eresos [a town in Lesbos], who was in love with the beautiful Phaôn, and she was very celebrated, as Nymphis [a writer of the second century B.C.] says in his *Voyage around Asia*.'[2] Now it is quite probable that Sapphô of Eresos was identical with Sapphô of Mytilênê, and that the opinion, according to which they are distinct persons, is an instance of the not very unfamiliar device of ancient grammarians, who at times endeavoured to solve difficulties by multiplying personages of the same name. But Athenaios clearly regards the

[1] *Deip.*, xv. 35. [2] *Ib.*, xiii. 70.

courtesan of Eresos as distinct from the great poetess; and this is quite possible. With respect to the famous love-leap, Strabo says that Leukas 'Has upon it the temple of Apollôn Leukatas, and the leap, which, it was thought, was an end of love. "Here Sapphô first, it is said," according to Menandros, "in pursuit of the haughty Phaôn, and urged on by maddening desire, threw herself from the aerial rock, imploring thee [*i.e.*, Apollôn], lord and king."' Such, then, was the myth as recorded by Menandros, but Strabo continues:—'Menandros says that Sapphô was the first who took the leap, but persons better acquainted with ancient accounts assert that it was Kephalos.'

Strabo then relates how at an annual sacrifice in honour of Apollôn it was customary to throw a condemned criminal from the rock, but at the same time every effort was made to preserve his life; and, if these efforts were successful, he was afterwards sent 'beyond the boundaries of the country.'[1] Lastly, we learn from late writers, such as Loukianos, Aelianus, and Palaiphatos, that Phaôn was an ugly old boatman, whom they locate at Mytilênê, and that after he had carried Aphrodîtê in his boat without fee, the goddess restored him to youth and beauty, upon which Sapphô fell in love with him.

All this is very interesting, inasmuch as it is a mythic echo of simple natural facts; but it contains no slur on the fair fame of the poetess. Phaôn ('the Shining-one'), a boatman who, having grown old, became young again, is merely Hêlios in his solar boat-cup, who grows old each night and is made young again each morning. He it is who, as Kephalos ('the Head'—of the sun)

[1] Strabo, x. ii. 9.

first leapt into the western ocean and discovered the way to the other world. Hence the connexion between Phaôn and the Leukadian ('White') Rock, which was near the western Gates of the Sun, and on the route by which souls went to Hadês.[1] The passage quoted by Strabo from Menandros really shows that—however the latter may have understood the tale—Phaôn and Apollôn were identical; and that Sapphô passionately loved the light and life, the glory and splendour, the mind and harmony, which the single word Apollôn suggested to an earlier Hellene, goes without saying. As has often been observed, nothing about any mortal Phaôn is to be found in the extant *Fragments* of the poetess; and it is therefore to be regretted that the gifted lady who styles herself 'Michael Field,' in the verses which, based upon the actual *Fragments*, express, according to her ideas, the lost lines of Sapphô, should have introduced Phaôn as a 'magnificent' youth, who thrills the luckless Lesbian damsel with the keen agonies of unrequited love.[2] When Michael Field informed 'a literary friend' that she intended to extend Sapphô's *Fragments* into lyrics, the reply, she tells us, was, 'I can scarcely conceive anything more audacious.' She has produced an exceedingly clever book, and some portions of her lyrics are very charming; but of course such an attempt naturally invites criticism, and I cannot but think that nothing can be much more un-Sapphic, nay, un-Hellenic, in spirit than the final lyric which is an expansion of the simple statement,

'Even hereafter men will think of us' (*Frag.* xxxii.)

[1] Vide *Od.*, xxiv. 11–12.

[2] Vide Michael Field, *Long Ago*, 1889.

Michael Field's Sapphô is about to 'take the leap,' and, addressing 'Apollo,' exclaims:—

> 'Well dost thou know
> The incommunicable woe [1]
> . . . .
> Finds but in Hades' bosom peace;'

And, if she must take 'a shape divine,' prays—

> 'Let me be
> A dumb sea-bird with breast love-free,
> And feel the waves fall over me.'

I fancy Apollôn would have replied that he knew nothing of the kind; and certainly a 'sea-bird' is not 'a shape divine,' whilst its state and condition, with the waves falling over it, would be, to say the least, highly mysterious. Surely 'burning Sappho,' as Byron so finely calls her, would never have desired that her flame might be extinguished in some passionless shadow-land; but would rather have exclaimed with the Semitic poet, who somewhat corresponds to her, 'Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it.'

To leap from the Leukadian rock was merely a proverbial expression meaning to take a plunge into anything, *e.g.*, into a sea of passion. Thus Anakreôn [2] exclaims:—

> 'Leaping *again* from the Leukadian rock,
> In the grey wave I dive, with love intoxicate.'

But, despite this express statement, no one has ever supposed that he committed suicide from the actual Leukadian rock. The cult of throwing a condemned criminal from the Rock, whilst at the same time

[1] Of unrequited love.

[2] *Frag.* xix.

every effort was made to save his life, is very interesting. Strabo says, in the passage above quoted: 'Various kinds of wings were attached to him, and even birds were suspended from his body, to lighten by their fluttering the fall of the leap. Below, many persons were stationed around in small fishing-boats, to receive him and to preserve his life, if possible.' Here, as in innumerable instances provided by folklore, we meet with a ritual practice originating in an imitation of Nature. The sun and the Sun-god are the first to leap into the western sea. He is, in some mysterious way, under a curse or a doom; for, as Sapphô tells us, 'Death is evil.'[1] He is thus devoted to the gods, especially to the awful powers of the Under-world. But it is all-important to man that, notwithstanding this, his life should be preserved, and his youth renewed in the fresh splendour of the returning morn, a fact which the ritual reflects in the efforts made to save the leaper.

Hermêsianax, temp. Alexander the Great, Diphilos, the comic poet, and others, kindly bestowed Archilochos (flo. B.C. 714–676), Hippônax (flo. B.C. 546-520), and Anakreôn (B.C. 563-478) upon Sapphô as her lovers. In all three cases, however, chronology absolutely vindicates her fair fame, and the speaker in Athenaios (xiii. 72) is of opinion that Hermêsianax was merely joking. Enough, then, touching the Phaôn-myth and silly calumnies; and thanks to good old Welcker and to all others who have defended the Lesbian beauty.

[1] *Frag.* cxxxvii.

IV.

We may next illustrate the character of Sapphô by reference to the well-known story of her brother Charaxos and the beautiful courtesan of Naukratis whom Hêrodotos calls Rhodôpis ('Rosy-cheek'). He says:—'Rhodôpis arrived in Egypt under the conduct of Xantheus the Samian; she was brought there to exercise her trade, but was redeemed for a vast sum by Charaxus, a Mytileneaen, the son of Scamandrônymos, and brother of Sappho the poetess. . . . Charaxus, after ransoming Rhodôpis, returned to Mytilênê, and was often lashed by Sappho in her poetry.'[1] Alluding to this Rhodôpis, Strabo[2] says that her 'name, according to Sapphô the poetess, was Dôricha. She was the mistress of her [Sapphô's] brother Charaxos, who traded to the port of Naukratis with wine of Lesbos. Others call her Rhodôpis.' And he then tells a story to show that she had beautiful feet. In Athenaios[3] we read that 'the beautiful Sapphô' 'in her poetry accuses Dôricha,' who 'became the mistress of her brother Charaxos, of having stripped Charaxos of a great deal of his property.' And an 'epigram on Dôricha' is there quoted from Posidippos, the last of the poets of the New Comedy, in which he contrasts the two women. The bones and hair and well-scented robe of the courtesan who 'once loved the elegant Charaxos,' have long ago been laid in the tomb,

> 'But Sappho's verses live and still shall live,'

even as she herself anticipated.[4] Says Strabo:

[1] Hêrod., ii. 135; ap. Canon Rawlinson. [2] xvii. i. 33.
[3] xiii. 69. [4] Vide *Frag.* xxxii.; *sup.*, p. 258. [5] xiii. ii. 3.

'Contemporary with Alkaios and his brother Antimenidas, flourished Sapphô, an extraordinary woman; for at no period within memory has any woman been known at all to be compared to her in poetry.'

We have seen that the fair Dôricha was called 'Rosy-cheek,' and I have shown elsewhere,[1] without any reference to Sapphô or her writings, that the Semitic female name Adâmâth ('the Rosy') was turned by the Greeks into the form Andromeda, a name familiar to us from the famous Perseus-myth. 'Andromeda,' therefore, as a female name is equivalent to 'Rhodôpis'; and when we find that Sapphô, in her extant *Fragments*, in one instance, at least, if not in two, makes an attack upon Andromeda, we may feel fairly certain that the damsel in question was Dôricha-Rhodôpis. Thus, evidently addressing the infatuated Charaxos, she exclaims:—'What graceless creature bewitches thy mind, that knows not how to draw her gown about her ankles?'[2]

Now we know from Athenaios[3] that the reference here was to Andromeda the damsel; and we have seen that Rhodôpis was famed for her beautiful feet, which doubtless she was not inclined to conceal. Here, then, we find Sapphô, who, we are told, as noticed, 'lashed' Charaxos, although he was her brother, 'in her poetry,' using her whip distinctly on the side of modesty and decorum. A courtesan would never have objected to Dôricha's exposing her charms. Michael Field has not expanded the last quoted *Fragment* into a lyric; but appears to allude to it,

[1] *Primitive Constellations*, i. 49–50.

[2] *Frag.* lxx.; ap. Brooks.

[3] i. 48.

and to misunderstand it, in what she says anent 'Gyrinna':—

> 'Her gesture has no rhythmic law;
> She knows not how her dress to draw
> About her ankles thin.'

Concerning Gyrinna's ankles I know nothing, but Andromeda-Rhodôpis evidently exposed hers, not accidentally and because they weren't worth looking at, but designedly and because they were.[1]

Another excellent testimony in favour of Sapphô is the address to her by her friend and fellow-countryman Alkaios[2]:—'Violet-weaving, pure, soft-smiling Sappho, something I wish to say, but shame prevents me.'

To which the poetess replies[3]:—'If thou hadst a desire for things good and right, and if thy tongue were not planning to speak something ill, shame would not hold down thine eyes, but thou wouldst speak thereon openly.'

V.

We may, then, consider that Sapphô, like the Indian Sîtâ, wife of Râma, has triumphantly undergone the fiery ordeal, and has emerged unscathed from the flame-blasts of malice, satire, and ignorance. But, ere proceeding further, it is fitting to mention here a votary of '*the* Poetess,' as she was called, to whom all lovers of the earlier lyrical Hellas are much indebted.

[1] In another passage (*Frag.* lviii.), as I have noticed (*Prim. Cons.*, i. 142), Sapphô appears to refer to, or also to, the constellational Andromeda. Probably the two Andromedas were combined in a jesting allusion.

[2] *Frag.* lv.; ap. Brooks.

[3] *Frag.* xxviii.; ap. Brooks.

Henry Thornton Wharton, who died all too soon, has in his *Sappho* (4th edit., 1898) collected, translated and explained all the *Fragments,* and has also noted all the chief comments of antiquity and of modern times upon his heroine. We can there read the praises of the Lesbian lady by Meleagros, Ploutarchos, the poetess Nossis, cir. B.C. 300, who called her the Flower of the Graces, the writers in the *Greek Anthology* and others, some of which I have mentioned; and also her equal glorification by moderns such as Addison, J. Addington Symonds, and Swinburne. We notice the deep homage rendered at her shrine by Horace, Catullus, Tennyson, and other lights of men, who pay her the sincerest flattery of imitation. Maximus Tyrius tells us that 'she was small and dark,' *fusca*, a brunette, a complexion pleasing to Aphrodîtê. The names of her chief girl-friends and pupils have also been preserved, Anaktoria, Mnasidika, Gongyla, Atthis, Telesippa, Gorgô, Damophyla and others, especially the beautiful Êrinna, whose premature death at the age of nineteen lost to the world a singer of evidently rare and splendid power.

In this great chorus of eulogy there are, as of course, some false, and some exaggerated notes. Thus, when Swinburne writes—

> 'Love's priestess, mad with pain and joy of song,
> Song's priestess, mad with joy and pain of love;'

we feel, on reflection, how intensely inappropriate this is to Sapphô, the Sapphô revealed in the extant *Fragments*, who, supremely sane, in the admirable words of Symonds, 'simply and exquisitely apprehends the facts of human life.' Or, again, when Wharton himself styles her 'the one great woman poet

of the world,' we instinctively demur, and at once think of Mrs Browning. Again, to say, with Symonds, that Sapphô's 'every word has . . . . a seal of absolute perfection,' is to allow language to run away with us. Two encomiums, however, quoted by Wharton, strike me as specially excellent. One is by M. Paulidos, a modern Lesbian: Μία καὶ μόνη ἐγένετο Σαπφώ. The other is by Mr Theodore Watts-Dunton:—'In directness, in lucidity, in that high imperious verbal economy which only nature can teach the artist, she has no equal, and none worthy to take the place of second.'

Such, then, are some special testimonies to what Wharton calls 'the perfume of Sappho's art.'

VI.

Leaving behind us the wrangle as to her moral character, the Phaôn-Phaethôn myth, and the great chorus of eulogy ancient and modern; but noting, in passing, the marvellous richness and bubbling fulness of the wine of life on the western seaboard of Asia Minor for a considerable period both before and after her *floruit* (cir. B.C. 612-590), consequent chiefly upon the intermingling of East and West, let us turn to her *Fragments* themselves, and see what, at this late epoch, we can fairly derive from them in illustration of the splendour and intensity of life and love. They are portions of Μέλη, rhythmic music songs, depending for their effect upon the combination of thought, felicitously draped in speech, with tone and measure. Viewed in the light of the best translations of them in English metres, they are distinctly disappointing. To

this the translators would almost certainly agree, and avow that Sapphô is untranslatable. There is, I presume, frequently, very considerable interest in attempting the impossible. But wherein does the impossibility in this case arise? Well, in the first place, Sapphic metre, like most other classic measures, is quite unsuited to the genius of English verse. Even Tennyson's admirable experiments in classic metres are merely a very high kind of *jeu-d'esprit*, an exceedingly clever intellectual balancing on the tight-rope. Few things are more wearying than a number of English hexameters, however good of their kind. Neither Swinburne nor anyone else can write really effective and poetical Sapphics. And we have only the words of the song; music and tone have fled. Take the *Prayer to Aphrodîtê* (*Frag.* i.). It begins —

> Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
> παῖ Δίος, δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε—.

Here the key-note and *crux* is in the first word. What did Sapphô mean by *Poikilothrone* or *Poikilothrona*, an epithet, so far as I remember, nowhere else used of Aphrodîtê? We may pass over the attempt to read ποικιλόφρον' = 'full of various wiles,' 'subtle-minded,' and Swinburne's consequent rendering, 'O thou of divers-coloured mind,' (1) because there is no real authority for it; and (2) because, in this case, the poetess would have marred her beautiful opening by obvious repetition of idea, since she also styles the goddess Δολόπλοκε ('Wile-weaving'). Philips, 1711, begins, just like an ordinary hymn-book hymn—

> 'O Venus, beauty of the skies,
> To whom a thousand temples rise.'

He, like Herbert, 1713, leaves the difficult word untranslated, and probably thought the second line, which is entirely his own, very good. John Herman Merivale, 1833, paraphrases *Poikilothrone* by 'throned-above-in-radiant-beauty,' which is manifestly unsatisfactory. F. T. Palgrave, 1854, begins—

'Golden-throned beyond the sky,
Jove-born immortality.'

But Sapphô says nothing about 'golden-throned' or 'beyond the sky'; and how artificial and un-Sapphic is his second line for the simple 'Child of Zeus.' Sir Edwin Arnold, 1869, attempts to imitate the metre of the original, and begins—

'Splendour-throned Queen, immortal Aphrodite.'

It is, of course, a mercy to get rid of 'Venus' and 'Jove,' but 'immortal' is about as far from a dactyl as any word can be, and 'splendour-throned,' although well enough as far as it goes, yet goes such a little way. Still feebler is the

'Beautiful-throned, immortal Aphrodite'

of T. W. Higginson, 1871. Moreton John Walhouse, 1877, strikes a new note in—

'O fickle-souled, deathless one, Aphrodite.'

But 'fickle-souled' is no translation of *poikilothrone*. 'Deathless,' however, as signifying one who had not died and was not (then) in a state subject to death, is a better rendering of *'αθάνατ* than 'immortal,' considered as meaning one who could not die. The former concept is, I think, the more Greek of the two. Sapphô notes, in a famous passage,[1] that the gods had not died. Whether they ever would

[2] *Frag.* cxxxvii.

die or not, was another question. Gods come and go. 'Zeus is the new king, but of old Kronos was ruler.'[1] J. Addington Symonds, 1893, begins—

'Glittering-throned, undying Aphrodite.'

This is much the best rendering we have had yet. Both the adjectives are good, and for the first time we approximate to the meaning of *poikilothrone*. Doubtless Symonds fully appreciated the difficulties which beset attempts to translate this singular epithet. But the Sapphic metre escapes him just as it does others. 'Undying' is no more a dactyl than 'immortal.'

The foregoing criticisms are not made in any captious or carping spirit, but simply because I am desirous of getting a grip upon Sapphô's standpoint and of analyzing the difficulties in the way of attaining this. All the world agrees that she was intensely influenced by love; and love, as Sapphically personified, necessarily includes both the masculine and feminine element. It is Eros[2] and 'golden-crowned Aphrodîtâ,'[3] whom she further styles 'soft.'[4] Aphrodîtê is thus, according to Sapphô, Chrysostephanos ('Crowned-with-splendour'); and we are bound to consider these epithets carefully, because the important, though perhaps somewhat neglected, question here is, How did Sapphô regard Aphrodîtê? We are so accustomed, alike in later classical and in post-classical times, to a merely formal and poetical (as it is called) invocation of gods and goddesses, that we almost involuntarily ascribe the same absence of any real religious feeling to earlier writers. But the

[1] Timotheus, *Frag.* xii.

[2] *Frag.* xl. [3] *Frag.* ix.

[4] Βραδίναν (*Frag.* xc.), Aeol. for ῥαδίνην. Cf. Sk. *vrad*, 'become soft.' Often rendered 'delicate.'

question, What was Aphrodîtê to Sapphô? whether it be easy or difficult to answer, must be grappled with, if we are to understand Sapphô's writings clearly.

At this time of day I will assume that the intelligent reader is aware that Aphrodîtê in origin was a Semitic divinity;[1] and that, however she may have developed in grace and charm and concept generally under Hellenic treatment, she had been Aschthârth Melekhet Aschamâîm, 'Astartê, Queen of heaven,' Astartê-Ishtar ('Daughter-of-heaven'), just as Sapphô calls her 'Child of Zeus.' A Greek of the age of Sapphô, although very considerably removed from the more childlike and simply-trusting attitude of days then long gone by, was yet far indeed from the philosophical and negative standpoint with regard to the gods which was to characterize a Periklês or a Thoukydidês. He had nought in common with the detestable practical atheism of the Hymn addressed to Dêmêtrios Poliorkêtês by some wretched Athenian in B.C. 302.[2] To him the divinities were in a way most real. And love is almost ever religious; as Emerson finely observes, 'It makes covenants with Eternal Power on behalf of its dear mate.' The very tempest of feeling drives the human heart upwards, and to Sapphô Aphrodîtê was a real potency, not an ornamental abstraction, serving as a peg upon which to hang her lyre. Hence one source of the immense feeling in her lines. Her woman's heart cries out to a female power that is supposed to understand perfectly and to sympathize with all moods of Cupîdo from the slightest flirtation to the abysses of over-

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology*, 1898, Pt. III. Sect. xvi.; *Prim. Cons.*, i. 223; *sup*, pp. 187, 233.

[2] Vide Bergk, *Poet. Ly. Grae.*, p. 1314.

whelming passion. She was not acquainted with the true mythological side of the history of Ishtar-Aphrodîtê; but, by an instinctive and accurate heredity, her knowledge of and references to the goddess are perfectly correct. Bearing these considerations in mind, and they might easily be greatly amplified, let us continue the investigation into the meaning of *Poikilothrone*, as an epithet of the 'Daughter-of-heaven.'

VII.

To turn next to the two modern prose translators. Wharton renders, 'Immortal Aphrodite of the broidered throne.' This translation of the epithet I do not well understand. Mr Brooks reads, 'Deathless Aphrodite of fair carven throne,' somewhat as if the poetess were addressing a seated image of the goddess. This I understand, but do not accept. Of course Aphrodîtê, like other divinities, appears in art as at times seated, but by no means specially so. The distinctive meaning of *poikilos* is 'variegated,' 'patterned,' 'many-coloured,' and hence 'changing,' 'changeable,' etc. Thus, it is applied to the changing hues of a large serpent.[1] What, then, is the variegated, many-coloured, changing-hued seat of the Daughter of Zeus, the Daughter of heaven? The firmament of light and colour and splendour and cloud-canopy and blue beyond and golden radiance, the throne and abode of the 'golden-crowned Aphrodîtâ.' This is not the aspect of the goddess as foam-born and from beyond the sea; but as the Baalâth, the face and splendour of the god, the Ourania of highest love,

[1] Pindaros, *Pyth.*, viii. 66.

whose special planet is Hesperos, 'of all stars the fairest.'[1] This may be well illustrated by the passage in the *Iliad*,[2] where we read that Athênaiê, another heaven goddess, when preparing for the combat, slipped off

'Her dainty robe of variegated (ποικίλον) hue.'

This fine and dainty, flexible, soft *peplos* is also the mantle of the heavenly Aphrodîtê, even as it is her throne; and so we might render the two first lines of the *Prayer*—

'Deathless Aphrodîtâ, of-the-many-coloured-seat,
Child of Zeus, wile-weaving, thee I now entreat.'

I do not say that this is Sapphô, but it is what she says. As the human spirit, in its numberless ways and actions, is made normally intelligible to its fellows by the material envelope of the body, so the thoughts, phases, and passions of the soul can take concrete expression by the aid of the material and visible universe around. We grasp this natural handle as of course; we compare good to light, evil to darkness, and so on; and many of the finest passages of what we call poetry are merely strings of such comparisons. Here, with a wonderful brevity and by the assistance of a pair of singularly appropriate correlative epithets, Sapphô brings before us the entire action of the goddess of love. The subtle mind of Aphrodîtê in its endless exercise of weaving wiles and plots and stratagems, many of them delicious and beneficial, just as others are agonizing and baneful, is exactly and externally mirrored in her aerial seat, with its joyful splendours, storms, tempests, endless changes, happy evenings, holy nights beauty-

[1] *Frag.* cxxxiii. [2] v. 734–5.

lighted, or, again, dread nocturnal glooms, mocked by past hopes and sombre with despair. If you would truly realize the force of Poikilothrone in this connexion, as a general presentation of sky-loveliness in a single epithet, then, thinking the while of the Sapphic Aphrodîtê, study some of Turner's skies with Ruskin's aid, such presentations as 'Carnarvon Castle' or 'Goldau,' where the fiery sunset is instinct with the passion of the goddess outpoured in awful intensity upon such votaries as Antony and Kleopatra, Tristan and Iseult. These and such delineations can take their place beside the noble tone-poems of Wagner; and we may strive towards an appreciation of the harmonious combination of colour, form, sound, thought and feeling, leading onwards in the direction of a unity of life, bathed in a supremacy of delight. But of how much of this presentation of the goddess, with its train of associated ideas, was Sapphô distinctly conscious? Thou hast asked a hard thing; yet much, very much, she certainly knew, and much more was grasped, more or less clearly, by her 'subliminal self,' as the Psychic Researchers would say. Personal feeling has a penetrative power proportioned to its intensity. To feel is to know, whilst, at the same time, on the intellectual and educational side she had every advantage permissible to her age. Our sensations, emotions, passions, conjectures, and hopes are not mere delusions and illusions, but are founded upon external facts. Thirst implies water, hunger food, man woman. Our conjectures and hopes, indeed, are generally somewhat out of focus; but, for all that, they are not untrue. They are imperfect, error-mingled; at present perfection escapes us. So Sapphô, from the knowledge bestowed upon her by her in-

dwelling heart of flame, could stretch forth her hands towards some central and external fire that smote her in body and in soul. She knew she could not grasp it, was beneath and subject to it.

> 'I think not that I touch heaven with both arms,'[1]

she says elsewhere, with the modesty that almost always accompanies great genius. But, with deep earnestness, she prays this awful Power to descend to her from the golden house of Zeus. And then the prayer changes to a hymn, giving a poetical realization of the wish. The 'beauteous sparrows,' birds from their nature akin to amorousness and human companionship, bear 'the goddess smiling' to her votary, whose desire she grants. But from all this, merely pretty and elegant fiction, the poetess turns again quickly in the passion of her prayer; and adjures the goddess, 'Come to me *and now*,' thus showing clearly the distinction between the real entreaty and the poetic trappings—

> 'What my soul fain would accomplish, accomplish:
> And do thyself, goddess, fight as an ally.'

This love, belonging to the lower sphere, Pandêmos with a strong dash of Ourania, is not an harmonious flowing of the Soul towards the Highest, in a tranquillity unruffled by the soft clasp of the etherial fire; but, in its ardent impulse, precipitates a contest. The victor in this fight will be the one who holds the *kestos* of Aphrodîtê, no fiction, no Homeric myth, but a fact, and the greatest fact in life. If the goddess is her fellow-fighter (*σύμμαχος*), then Sapphô is glorified, and entranced in the attainment of the desires of her heart. According to Dionŷsios of Halikarnassos, the

[1] *Frag.* xxxvii.

'grace and beauty' of the poem also appear 'in the subtle harmony between the words and the ideas' (Wharton). I do not question it, although what I have called 'Occult Imitation in language,'[1] is at present impossible to trace in detail, and indeed constitutes the real *crux* in all investigations into the origin of speech. The exquisitely poetical ear of Sapphô would be keenly conscious of every harmony of rhythm and assonance, including even alliteration.

VIII.

In Platôn Diotîma, the wise woman of Mantineia, Sôkratês and others say many acute and pretty things about Love, calling him 'the great and glorious god,' 'the eldest of the gods,' 'a great spirit, intermediate between the divine and the mortal,' and thus on; and distinguish between divers of his phases. His indissoluble connexion with Aphrodîtê is referred to; and love being in one phase lower, and in another higher, both Eros and Aphrodîtê (Ourania and Pandêmos) are duplicated. The human soul, which naturally responds to both the higher and lower phases of desire, is imaged as a charioteer with two horses, one good, the other bad; and as of course, they constantly pull different ways. Love is love of beauty, and man should aspire to live in the contemplation of absolute beauty, and thus become the friend of God and immortal. But Sapphô stands upon a lower slope of the exceeding high mountain which is topped by Divine Perfection. Love to her is the son 'of Earth

[1] Vide R. B., Jun., *Language and Theories of its Origin*, 1881, Sec. xvi.

and Heaven,'[1] a saying which expresses, with admirable brevity, all the expansions of the double Aphrodîtê and double Eros, and the two horses, and any other Janiform phase-illustrations.

'From heaven he comes, in purple mantle clad;'[2]

but yet is he, and that most specially, Algesidôros[3] ('Bestower-of-pain'), when he alights upon the earth. Eros-Eris. 'Love is a pain, and 'tis a pain to miss that pain,' and love-engendered hope and fear are painful; and even in its climax 'the strong pleasure is smiting the nerves into pain.'[4] It is only when he rises again towards the Eternal Beauty whence he came, that pain is no longer. Then Love intensifies to Rapture—

'Bright Rapture calls, and soaring as she sings,
Waves in the eye of heav'n her many-colour'd wings.'[5]

And Eros is Algesidôros, not specially as connected with the great pain of vainly loving; nor, again, with mortal fears for the safety and welfare of the Beloved; but, in certain finer souls, with the pain which the sight of beauty itself now produces. This special feeling is not based upon any reflection anent the transitory character of earthly and mortal beauty; no Xerxês tears that man must pass away. Many who cannot possess this feeling will deny that it exists, but it is a distinct phase in the mystery of Love. The

[1] *Frag.* cxxxii.

[2] *Frag.* lxiv. So Gray, from Phrynikos, the 'purple light of Love' (*Progress of Poesy*, i. 3).

[3] *Frag.* cxxv.

[4] E. B. Browning, *A Rhapsody of Life's Progress*, iii.

[5] Gray, *The Bard*, iii. 2.

poetess says, in words which the world has understood as spoken of herself—

'Darling Mother, I no longer now can labour at the loom,
For a youth in yearning vanquished through soft Aphrodîtâ's doom.'[1]

There is nought of indelicacy in this naive confession of natural feeling; there is no suggestion of the suffering of unrequited love, but yet a distinct note of pain of a kind. And, similarly, she exclaims—

'Again the limb-relaxing Eros shakes me,
Sweet bitterness, resistless influence.'[2]

Sapphô simply expresses a profound truth which we meet very early on in our Bible, 'Thy desire shall be to thy husband'; and even a modern maiden, provided she expresses the sentiment in verse, may say as much. Otherwise, of course, not. She must remember a heavy allegory that I saw in this year's (1900) Academy, where the painter showed a plain girl (= Girlhood) seated, whilst from her side a little girl (= Childhood) prepares to retire hastily at the approach of a very plain female (= Womanhood), who wears a kind of mask; all this to show that women must ever disguise their feelings, and pretend they want only 'a very small glass of wine' and a very tiny piece of cake. I doubt not that many a sophist, ancient and modern, could deliver an admirable harangue in defence of Hypocrisy.

The highest and the lowest kinds of love agree in loving everyone or anyone, although in far different ways. But the highest and truest kind

[1] *Frag.* xc. [2] *Frag.* xl.

of merely human sex-love loves one alone. Says Juliet—

'If he be married,
My grave is like to be my wedding-bed.'

And this fine phase of human passion, one peculiarly liable to the special pain of which I have spoken, introduces us to another mysterious fact. For, why should one alone, not merely one at a time, be preferred? Men, in attempted answer to the problem, speak of special affinities, duplicate souls, and the like. These are word-illustrations, not puzzle-explanations. What is the reason of the overpowering love of Tristan and Iseult, which even king Mark at last ceases to resent? An earlier age saw the problem, and flew to the supernormal for assistance in its treatment. It offers us a love-potion as an explanation. An eminent modern critic says that such an incident, being intrinsically ridiculous, destroys the interest of the story. Had he possessed a deeper insight, he would have perceived that poor human intelligence is here only trying stammeringly to express, not to explain, a *crux* and mystery. Sings Sapphô—

'I both regret and eagerly desire;'[1]

and when I see a pleasing distant line of coast, grassy downs and bold headlands, or again, when I behold some strange and charming face, I feel her words. But what it is that I regret, or what it is that I eagerly desire, I am but very partially conscious. Certainly it is not to own the land, or, in any sense, to own the individual. It is regret, in some sort, that time has been so wasted, instead of having been

[1] *Frag.* xxiii.

devoted to the contemplation of beauty in its essence and depth and height of splendour; regret that loveliness, the 'flying perfect,' escapes us, leaving a stimulating impact which is at once a scourge and a sting. I have only once seen a *beautiful* youth, and what a power he was! I do not wonder that among the Athenians of old the 'reigning beauty' was a youth. He may be, like the youth in Platôn, as good as beautiful; or he may be utterly unworthy, an Absalom, an Alkibiadês. But what an influence he possesses, what devotion he excites! As Sapphô says,—

'To you, fair maids, my mind remains unchanged.'[1]

Yet even your charms pale before such a man. You worship him yourselves. David's awful agony over his son was a lament for beauty, exquisite beauty, blotted out for ever in the blackness of darkness. The 'grains of golden sand' which Sapphô has left us, are remarkable, amongst other things, for their intensely clear-cut and chrysolite character. As we have seen, she has likened Aphrodîtê to the glories of the changing firmament; and similarly, she says of Eros—

'But I love grace, and, as I think, Love holds
The splendour and the beauty of the sun.'[2]

What a vista of simile, comparison, and illustration these words open to us! Turner's fiery sunset of Goldau, Shakspere's fiery sunset of Antony and Kleopatra. Sunrise, tenderness, the stormy sun, the hidden sun, the calmly dying sun; innumerable variations, splendours, beauties, changing phases, all solar and all Erotic. And pain in the contemplation

[1] *Frag.* xiv. [2] *Frag.* lxxix.

of beauty, pain in the overpowering majesty of beauty, *austerity*, burning brilliance, sunstroke, Lancelot and Guinevere 'stammering and staring.' This solar and love-splendour is, to use a fine expression of the poetess, 'more golden than gold.'[1] The sunstroke of Eros, too, is shown with supreme ability in the (so-called) *Ode to Anaktoria*.[2] 'When I see thee but a little, I have no utterance left, my tongue is broken down (= "stammering"), and straightway a subtle fire has run under my skin, with my eyes I have no sight (= "staring"), my ears ring, sweat pours down, and a trembling seizes all my body; I . . . . seem in my madness little better than one dead.'[3]

One of the chief happy phases of love was treated of by the poetess in her *Wedding-songs*. The few surviving *Fragments* of these bring before our minds the majestic manhood of the bridegroom and the unique charm of the bride:—

'No other girl, O bridegroom, was like her.'[4]

'Fortunate bridegroom, truly thy marriage, as thou didst pray,
Has been accomplished; thou hast the maiden whom thou didst pray.'[5]

'Cometh the bridegroom, equal to Arês,
He than a tall man taller by far.'[6]

'Hail bride, all hail, O honoured bridegroom.'[7]

The marriage star of Aphrodîtê shines above them:—

'Hespere, bringer of all, whatever the bright dawn has scattered,
Bringest the sheep and the goat, thou bringest the child to the mother.'[8]

Yet even at the moment we look back with a kind of

[1] *Frag.* cxxii. [2] *Frag.* ii. [3] Ap. Wharton.
[4] *Frag.* cvi. [5] *Frag.* xcix. [6] *Frag.* xci.
[7] *Frag.* cv. [8] *Frag.* xcv.

tender pain at 'the revered dawn,'[1] the virginal splendour that lies for ever behind :—

'Maidenhood, maidenhood, whither hast fled having left me?
I shall come never to thee, never again shall I come.'[2]

For ever fled is 'the golden-sandalled dawn.'[3] But time and change bring other lovelinesses :—

'I have a lovely child, Klêïs the dear,
Her form to golden flowers corresponds.
All Lydia should not buy her from me.'[4]

Another love-phase, also not without pain, and perhaps the most famous feature in the presentation of the poetess, is her choir of girl-friends, 'with rosy arms and glancing eyes and fair cheeks and honeyed voices,'[5] 'and soft garlands woven about the soft neck,'[6] and 'fair tresses.' For the divinities love the flower-encircled,

'But turn away from those without a crown.'[7]

Sapphô loves her choir; they are her roses,[8] and she sings to them—

'Now these delightful strains
Will I to my girl-comrades sweetly sing.'[9]

So Byron exquisitely describes Aurora Raby :—

'A lovely being scarcely formed or moulded,
A rose with all its sweetest leaves yet folded.'

The Muses, sings Sapphô,

'Have made me honoured, giving me their arts.'[10]

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[1] *Frag.* cliii.
[2] *Frag.* cix.
[3] *Frag.* xviii.
[4] *Frag.* lxxxv.
[5] Ap. Wharton. Vide *Frag.* cxxix.
[6] *Frag.* xlvi.
[7] *Frag.* lxxviii.
[8] Vide *Frag.* cxlvi.
[9] *Frag.* xi.
[10] *Frag.* x.

And time shall not quench the light of genius:—

'Even hereafter men shall think of us.'[1]

On the other hand, oblivion, deep and contemptuous, is the portion of the commonplace, unlearned, vulgar woman:—

'When in death thou shalt lie lowly, straight the record of thee closes;
Thou wast not a sharer in the perfume of Pierian roses.
Thought of neither then nor after, but obscurely shalt thou tread
E'en the very halls of Hadês, flitting with the shadowy dead.'[2]

But even the sacred circle of the select had its imperfections and disappointments. 'Dear Lady Disdain' flourished there,[3] Gorgô was tedious,[4] Atthis faithless.

'Atthis, for thee to think of me
Was hateful, to Andromeda
Thou flyest.'[5]

'Dêmas hath forsaken me,' exclaims S. Paul! Alas, that love should end in loss, that friendship half-divine, companionship so true and tender, time-tried, should fail so sadly!

'Ah, once I loved thee, Atthis, long ago.'[6]

Now there is such a gulf between our souls that 'tis as wide and deep as ages. Thou hast not smitten me but Love himself and almost robbed the sunshine of its smile.

'Lâtô and Niobâ were dearest friends,'[7]

but pride and jealousy wrought death, and a woe

[1] *Frag.* xxxii.
[2] *Frag.* lxviii.
[3] Vide *Frag.* lxxvii.
[4] Vide *Frag.* xlviii.
[5] *Frag.* xli.
[6] *Frag.* xxxiii.
[7] *Frag.* xxxi.

whose pathos weeps down the ages. And, then, my beautiful Êrinna, so fair, so wise :—

> 'I do not think that in the time to come,
> Will any maiden ere behold the sun
> With wisdom such as thine.'[1]

Nineteen,

> 'A rose of grace !
> Girl never breathed to rival such a rose ;
> Rose never blew that equalled such a bud.'[2]

Peace, poor storm-tossed soul ; patience and silence. Loves may die, but Eros dies not. Anger against mortal, against Fate, how futile ; ay, and unworthy !

> 'When anger overspreads the breast,
> Keep guard upon the idly-barking tongue.'[3]
>
> 'Nay, I am not vindictive in my soul,
> But bear a childlike heart.'[4]

IX.

But nature heals the sorrows of her child. The death-conquering sun, the canopy of heaven, 'shot with a thousand hues,'[5] the majestic march of the world, the flowers springing from the grave of a dead love, pulse the heart with fresh emotion, and glittering visions through the gate of happy dreams. We recline in delicious reverie :—

> 'Cool breezes murmur through the apple boughs,
> And from the quivering leaves slumber streams down.'[6]
> 'And Sleep, the child of Night, with sable eyes,[7]

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[1] *Frag.* lxix. Vide *sup.*, p. 264.
[2] Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, iii. 1.
[3] *Frag.* xxvii.
[4] *Frag.* lxxii.
[5] *Frag.* xx., ap. Wharton.
[6] *Frag.* iv.
[7] *Frag.* lvii.

stealing through the senses, lulls them to unconsciousness, even as it wakens the subliminal self.

'With her-of-Kypros spake I in a dream.'[1]

'O Aphrodîtê of-the-golden-crown,
Would I might win this cast!'[2]

The happy freshness of the year in strengthening beauty is coursing through my veins. I awake, I rise, I hear

'Angel of Spring, the sweet-voiced nightingale.'[3]

'Again Love shakes my soul,
As a wind falling on the mountain oaks.'[4]

'And like a child to her mother I flutter.'[5]

My love has come:—

'Stand opposite, beloved,
And show the grace that is upon thine eyes.'[6]

'Do I still maidhood earnestly desire?'[7]

'Come, Kypris, daintily in golden cups
Mixed with delight pour nektar forth as wine.'[8]

'Thou burnest us.'[9]

Night and solitude, Sêlênê,[10] 'proud and pale,'[11] is in the ascendant.

'Stars round the lovely moon
Quickly conceal their light,
When, at the full, she most
All the world lightens.'[12]

Our friends pale from us, eclipsed by other influences. Their day is over, their spell is broken, 'but in their time they plaited garlands.'[13] Ah for the vanished brightness, the moments of intensity

[1] *Frag.* lxxxvii. [2] *Frag.* ix. [3] *Frag.* xxxix.
[4] *Frag.* xlii. [5] *Frag.* xxxviii.
[6] *Frag.* xxix. On this *Frag.*, vide Athenaios, *Deip.*, xiii. 17.
[7] *Frag.* cii. [8] *Frag.* v. [9] *Frag.* cxv.
[10] Vide *Frag.* lxxxvii. [11] Michael Field.
[12] *Frag.* iii. [13] *Frag.* lxxiii., ap. Brooks.

when we almost touched heaven with our arms![1] 'Ah for Adônis!'[2]

> 'Ah, for Adonis! So
> The virgins cry in woe:
> Ah, for the spring, the spring,
> And all fleet blossoming.'[3]

And this perishable beauty pains, whilst the eternal beauty soothes and raises.

> 'The fair is good so far as sight can tell;
> He that is good is beautiful as well.'[4]

External splendours, wealth of form, riches, power, gain their real and only dignity and grandeur when associated with the godlike soul—

> 'Wealth without Worth is not a neighbour safe.'[5]

Yet, although all this be indeed most true, we hymn with overflowing heart beauty which passes and which cannot pass, and love, and youth, and spring, and the sweet notes and gleaming colours of the birds, and dawn and holy night. The light and glory of the day are over, the loveliness of eve has fled; Selênê hides her proud, pale beauty, the starry group that ring their queen Alkyonê, have, like their dim sister, veiled their faces—

> 'The moon has departed, the Pleiads have flown;
> Midnight—time ever passing—but I lie alone.'[6]

Do not weep, my daughter—

> 'Grief is not seemly in a poet's house.'[7]

We change and fade—

> 'Death is an evil, thus the gods decide;
> For, were it good, then they themselves had died.'[8]

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[1] Vide *sup.*, p. 273.
[2] *Frag.* lxiii.
[3] Michael Field.
[4] *Frag.* ci.
[5] *Frag.* lxxxi.
[6] *Frag.* lii.
[7] *Frag.* cxxxvi.
[8] *Frag.* cxxxvii.

But Zeus holds all things fast.[1] Thou art calling; I come.

'Come, lyre divine,'[2] and let thy tones awake
The deathless form of beauty in the soul
With plenitude of power; and make
Our being filled by such divine control
As suits a perfect passion high uplifted
In thought serene, with clearer vision gifted,
Towards the starry mysteries that roll
Through the vast heavens from pole to nether pole.
For, lights and joys like these,
Sweet harbingers of higher harmonies
Shall save our life, with sacred dew impearled,
From stooping to the shadow of the darkly-splendid world!

Thy chords are thoughts which sweep towards the place
Where Love is shrined all perfect: his decree
Rings through the spheres; in his embrace
Ascending souls sing paean, nor can be
Pause in the progress of that fire of living,
Which aye rekindles in a constant giving;
Melodious in deathless melody;
'The unvexed breath of breezes'[3] from a sea
Beyond the storms of time,
Whose murmur speaks an ecstasy sublime:
The inharmonious Love shall overwhelm,
When rising in the glory of the soul's immortal realm!

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[1] Vide *Frag.* clvii.

[2] *Frag.* xlv.

[3] Alkaios, *Frag.* xvi.

VICTORIA.

Farewell! The long bright day is o'er, the fourscore years and one
Are gathered to the centuries whose course old Time has run;
Yet, while men note the cycles of the splendour-girded sun,
In pure and holy sheen,
Will shine, with light serene,
The name and fame and memory of Victoria our Queen!

We think of her long, long ago, the young and winsome maid,—
Who, when they said the Crown was hers, straight knelt her down, and prayed
That He, the Monarch of all kings, would grant his Daughter aid:
And, through the rolling years,
'Mid danger, strife, and tears,
We know that prayer was answered by the Mighty One who hears.

We think of her, the Bride, the Wife, the Mother, sweet and pure,
Whose throne, as it grew mightier still, grew ever more secure;
Engirdled by that love which makes a panoply most sure:
Our Mother hath she been;
Her loving eyes have seen
The hearts of millions centre round Victoria the Queen!

Hers was a wisdom born of love, intensified by pain,
Experience, whose unrivalled course could gradually attain
A grand and true sagacity throughout a glorious reign:
And, though we know not yet
The deepness of our debt,
Enough we all are conscious of to make us ne'er forget.

Where other stars in other skies pour down from heaven their smile,
On many a teeming distant shore, o'er many a lonely isle,
There are true hearts of many a race that mourn with us, the while
With sad and solemn mien
And sorrow, deep and keen,
We leave in God's most blessed care Victoria our Queen.

So, if the days are dark and stern, and Time seems winged with harm,
We think of her who ever kept a great and queenly calm,
And in God's name, we face our fate without the least alarm;
For He, who, in the past,
Saved her from danger's blast,
Can guard the People whom she loved in peril to the last.

Then rest, O Mother of our hearts, in His own presence rest;
Thy true and tried and loving Soul, by Love supremely blest,
Shall join the blessed choir of those—God's sweetest and His best.
And, though our paths between
Stands Death's dark-mantled skreen,
The deathless love of England rings Victoria the Queen!

February 2, 1901.

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'Le nom de M. Robert Brown, auteur du *Grand Mythe Dionysiaque*, est bien connu des mythologues, qui n'ont point oublié ses travaux sur le dieu Poseidon. M. Robert Brown s'est donné pour tâche de déterminer la part qui revient à l'influence sémitique dans la mythologie grecque, et il a trouvé que cette part était considérable. Il surprend des traces d'un élément oriental bien caractérisé dans les rites, dans les idées, et dans les mots. Son livre sur le dieu des mers avait pour but de démontrer qui ni le nom, ni la conception de Poseidon, n'avaient une origine hellénique. L'ouvrage qu'il consacre à Dionysos est traité de même dans un esprit d'opposition aux mythologues qui rattachent étroitement le panthéon grec au panthéon védique. . . . *Le Grand Mythe Dionysiaque* est un ouvrage solide autant qu'intéressant.'—*Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse.*

'The title hardly suggests to an ordinary person the vast amount of ground which the author covers. The Dionysiak Myth, in his view, is nothing less than a picture of all the

most important aspects of human life; and mankind, in composing it, may be said, in his words, to have been "revealing their own nature and mental basis." Mr. Brown has produced two learned volumes, in which the whole matter and many collateral matters are elaborately discussed.'—*Spectator.*

'Among the numerous works which the constantly-growing interest in archæology has called forth, Mr. Brown's treatise will be regarded as entitled to high favour. His labours will enable us to read our Bibles and ancient classics more understandingly. He has performed a prodigious deal of hard work, and done it admirably. . . . Dionysos has been selected as the central figure, because his history covers the entire field of research. Mr. Brown brings to his work the charm of novelty, and even of romance. The thoroughness, fidelity, and conscientiousness which he displays are most exceptional.'—*The Library Table* (*New York*).

'The story is as interesting as a romance to the archæological inquirer. A profusion of authors are quoted to facilitate the investigation and to substantiate the conclusions. It must be acknowledged that they altogether appear to constitute a very satisfactory explanation.'—*The Evolution* (*New York*).

'The Author of *The Great Dionysiak Myth* has given a fuller and more interior view of the fancied grape-god. We are conducted through a world of classical and mythological research far outside of Olympus, and even of Greece, over Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and the far Orient.'—*The Medical Tribune* (*New York*).

'During the twelve years which have passed since the publication of the first edition, a large amount of solid work has been done within the domain of comparative mythology. Of the results so gained, probably the most important is the clearer light thrown on the influence of Semitic theology on the theology and religion of the Greeks. This momentous question I have striven to treat impartially; and for my treatment of it I have to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Robert Brown's valuable researches in the field of the great Dionysiak Myth.'— Rev. Sir G. W. COX, Preface to the new edition of *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations.*

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'The author of *The Great Dionysiak Myth* is a laborious student. It seems but yesterday that we noticed his pamphlet on the unicorn, and now we have another book which must have taken, one would suppose, years of study to bring it to its present state of perfection. . . . To us moderns, however ignorant we may be, the idea of time is regulated by a multitude of events of daily and almost hourly occurrence, and but very few of us ever look back to a period when it had to be worked out bit by bit. Mr. Brown has done this thoroughly well in his own deeply learned fashion. . . . The book is an important contribution to science, which no future investigator in the same field can afford to overlook.'—*Notes and Queries.*

'By Kosmic Order Mr. Brown means "The harmony of the world in its varied round of day, night, week, month, season, and year." His present work is an attempt to point out the way in which man attained to an idea of this order, so far as the year and zodiacal signs are concerned. It is more especially with the zodiacal signs as we have received them from the Greeks that he concerns himself. They were ultimately derived from the Accadians, who first mapped out the sun's course through the sky, and gave to each section of it the names by which the signs are still, for the most part, known. Mr. Brown claims to have shown that the signs, when the mythological conceptions which lie at the bottom of them are examined, fall naturally into two groups, six being diurnal and six nocturnal. In this way the year became to early men the day of twenty-four (or rather twelve) hours on an enlarged scale. We always find in Mr. Brown's writings proofs of wide reading and happy suggestions. There are very few of his statements with which we should be disposed to quarrel, and the general reader cannot fail to find his work both instructive and interesting.'—*Academy.*

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'In this study Mr. Brown gives us more of that extensive learning and power of combination which we have come to expect from him as a matter of right. . . . It is always a pleasure to read what Mr. Brown writes; and we find it difficult to lay down his book when once taken up, or to rise from a perusal of it without feeling that new vistas have been opened out before the mind.'—*The Academy.*

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'Those who know Mr. Brown's other works will readily believe the actual translation is the least part of the book; the most important portion consists of the abundant and valuable notes upon every constellation named. Mr. Brown's erudition and range of research have received recognition ere now from the highest authorities, and they are displayed afresh in these interesting notes. Many of the constellations are traced back to their Akkadian stage . . . . and Mr. Brown's remarks as to the date of the observations upon which the poem of Aratos is founded are very forcible. The book is adorned with a great number of curious Middle Age or Archaic designs of the constellation-figures.'—*The Observatory.*

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'Mr. Brown's own position is that of one who seeks for the meaning of many Greek divine names in Semitic philology. . . . In itself no theory can be more probable.'—Mr. ANDREW LANG, in *The Bookman.*

'With Prof. Max Müller Mr. Brown's quarrel is mainly negative; he only complains that the Professor has ignored the extent of Semitic influence in Hellas and passed over the writers who have demonstrated it. But as regards Mr. Lang he fights mainly on the Professor's side, and fires several shots with very pretty effect both on his own account and on that of his ally. . . . As to his polemics, he has a very pretty wit and no small skill of fence, which Mr. Lang may be expected to parry if he can.'—*The Times.*

'Mr. Andrew Lang is a dexterous controversialist, wielding the sharpest of rapiers. But he does not have it all his own way. Mr. R. Brown is an expert, but he can be playful; and in the first half of this volume he has a series of passages at arms with Mr. Lang, and does sometimes dialectically "draw blood." . . . Totemism, fire-stealing, bear-cults, mouse-cults, earth-myths, dawn myths, Mr. Brown has a "go" at them all, and Mr. Lang will need to sharpen his rapier once more.'—*The London Review.*

'A work which ought to find a place on the shelves of all students of myths and folk-lore. . . . Admirably written.'—*Echo.*

'This is a lively and vigorous assault-at-arms in three bouts, defensive, offensive, and constructive. . . . In the second part Mr. Brown takes up . . . . his axe . . . . and butchers Mr. Lang on his own account. . . . On the intrinsic and fundamental issue we find ourselves in substantial agreement with Mr. Brown's contention that old Greek myths and Greek religion contain a considerable admixture of Semitic and other Oriental elements . . . . Mr. Brown is doing a good service in amassing and emphasizing the evidence.'—*Manchester Guardian.*

'A substantial contribution to mythological study.'—*Glasgow Herald.*

'Real knowledge of Euphratean mythology.'—*Literature.*

'A clever, interesting volume . . . . the student of mythology will find many things delightfully well put.'—*Expository Times.*

'Mr. Brown is probably right in emphasizing Semitic influence on various myths.'—*The Literary World.*

'Mr. Brown playfully criticizes the two authors [Prof. Max Müller and Mr. A. Lang] above mentioned, leaning somewhat to the side of Prof. Max Müller.'—*The Oxford Magazine.*

'There are many features in the classical mythology that we learned at school which are plainly not of Greek origin. Whence do they come? Mr. A. Lang thinks they can be traced to the beliefs of savages; but Mr. Brown thinks they were borrowed bodily from the civilized inhabitants of Western Asia. It is most probable that Mr. Brown is right.

. . . Mr. Brown has done good work . . . . and has in particular made much progress in the identification of the Babylonian constellations with the Greek.'—*Academy.*

'Into the midst of the battle of the three principal directions of Mythological Science in England, the Author leads us with lively and often delightful humour. Max Müller has put together his thoughts concerning language, myth and religion in the *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, 1897. The Arians had before their separation, a formulated belief in divinities, in which they embodied the great natural phenomena, namely, the Solar. Once more does Andrew Lang, his old adversary, fight him in his [Lang's] *Modern Mythology*, with the insufficient weapons of his known anthropological theory. Though Brown declares himself full of respect for the former and finishes off the latter with sharp humour, still he blames Müller for several weaknesses; and, more especially, as a principal fault, for his disinclination to admit that so many Hellenic divinities and mythical stories can be explained by Semitic influence. Most certainly the powerful Semitic cult-centre on the Euphrates carried forward an influence more clearly seen year by year from new discoveries, not only on domestic life and knowledge, but also on the belief of Hellas. Brown recognizes Semitic extraction in a Greek divinity (1) If the name and its principal myths do not appear in the other Arian mythologies; (2) If Arian nature-myths provide no simple and appropriate explanation of its existence; (3) If its cult is found in territory either non-Arian, or governed by non-Arian influence; (4) When the form is more or less unanthropomorphic; (5) When the character and history harmonize with the character and history of non-Arian divinities; and (6) When Arian philology is not in a position to explain its name, and some or most of its principal features. Thus does he explain Kronos, Poseidon, Dionysos, Aphrodite and Herakles as Semitic beings: but further, also Ino, Athamas=Tammuz, Kirke, Hekate, the Ilian Athene, the picture of the Under-world Nekyia, and the Greek constellations.'—*Anzeiger für Indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde.*

PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS. VOL. I.

'Comparisons and identifications which are very suggestive.'—*Literature.*

'Mr. Brown has long been known as a most diligent student of astronomical archæology, and his translation of Aratus, with the notes accompanying it, was highly valued by all who take an interest in the early history of astronomy. The object of his present work is to trace back the constellations as near as can be to the time and place of their origin. That place Mr. Brown finds to be the Valley of the Euphrates, and the earliest people to which he is at present able to follow them are the Akkadians. The present volume is chiefly occupied with a translation of the star catalogue of the Almagest, and with establishing that the early Greek writers, and Homer in particular, were well acquainted with the constellation figures. Much of this is thoroughly pioneer work in a region of extreme interest and no little importance, and Mr. Brown is the first person who has carried it on with anything like the same system and labour. His scholarship is wide, his industry is inexhaustible. Our debt to him is great. . . . The book shows immense learning and research.'—*Journal of the British Astronomical Society.*

'All must agree that Mr. Brown has done good service by his translation of, and commentary on the works of Aratus, and he has brought a vast amount of learning and ingenious suggestion to bear on this exposition of his views.'—*Folk-lore.*

'There is much to support the view that the constellations in something like their present form originated in the lands through which the Euphrates runs perhaps as early as 2000–3000 B.C., and that a knowledge of them passed to the Greeks long afterwards. It is one of the forms of this theory that Mr. Brown champions in the book before us with great learning and enthusiasm.'—*Saturday Review.*

'Mr. Brown's labours undoubtedly belong to the region of genuine scientific research. The writer is neither a sciolist nor a learned man whose imagination has run away with him. He has always a reason for what he thinks, and to the best of our judgment, generally a good reason. . . . His work may be recommended to the study even of those who may take little interest in the history of the constellations as a peculiarly instructive and convincing illustration of the close intellectual connection of the chief nations of the ancient world, and of the extent to which Greece was influenced by Babylonia.'—*The Speaker.*

'It is beyond dispute that Mr. Brown's books, and the present one in particular, have a very high value. . . . The present book stands out as the most serious and scientific attempt yet published to trace the old constellation figures back to their origin. Mr. Brown traces the primitive constellations of the Greeks—those, that is to say, that are described for us in the *Phainomena* of Aratos—back to the early inhabitants of the Euphratean Valley, and particularly to the Akkadians, from whom the Greeks derived them through the Phœnicians, the Hittites, and the later (Semitic) Babylonians . . . There can be little doubt that, so far as there is evidence at present available, he proves his point.'—*Knowledge.*

Mr. Brown places in a connected form the result of the investigations of many years respecting the employment of the Signs of the Zodiac and of the other time-honoured constellation figures of the classical world. The translation of the star list is accompanied by notes showing the connection of the majority of the constellation figures with Phœnicia and the Euphrates Valley.'—*Literary World.*

'Astronomy is probably one of the very oldest of sciences; its origin is lost in the most remote antiquity, and we do not even know how or when the constellation figures were developed, although these indicate a very advanced stage of astronomical knowledge. Mr. R. Brown has just published the first volume of a series of scholarly researches into the history of the Primitive Constellations, which contains a mass of information upon the state of astronomical science in Babylon and Greece. In opposition to some previous inquirers, the author considers that the ancient astronomers did not group the stars in the shape of certain figures because their grouping resembled these figures, but that they first selected the figures, and then arranged the stars within their outlines. Much evidence is given in support of this view, especially from the Hipparcho-Ptolemy star-list and Greek literature generally. There seems every reason to believe that the Greeks obtained their knowledge of constellations and astronomy generally from Asia, especially the region of the Euphrates. Mr. Brown's work contains an enormous number of classical references and can be confidently recommended to all those interested in this subject.'—*Westminster Review.*

'The present volume is mainly concerned with the Hellenic history of the signs, including their place in the art of the various nations with whom the earlier Greeks came into contact, and concludes with a notice of the Græco-Babylonian period of Seleucus and his successors. In a second it is proposed to trace the constellation figures backwards from the era of Alexander to their first appearance in the dawn of history. Mr. Brown has gone into the matter very elaborately and with great wealth of illustration, which cannot fail to render his work of high interest to the student of ancient literature and science.'—*Notes and Queries.*

'So much has been done now in the publication of Babylonian and other tablets that it is possible to make hopeful research into the primitive astronomy, and to reach conclusions that are approachably scientific and final. Mr. Brown claims no more than that. But he claims that, and makes it good. He has no revolutionary theories; his work is on the lines of the great scholars; but he is original and painstaking, making actual new contributions to the subject. Moreover, he has succeeded in retaining the reader's interest throughout, no doubt by the simple process of being always interested himself. This volume is the first of two. It carries the history of the constellations through the Hellenic period. The second will trace the Signs from the age of Alexander back to the dawn of history—a period of deeper and yet more difficult interest.'—*Expository Times.*

'Many years of laborious and conscientious study must have gone to the collection and sifting of the facts with which his pages are crammed. One chapter is devoted to showing that the Stellar Catalogue of Ptolemy contained in his "Almagest," is practically an edition of the earlier Star List of Hipparchos, and to a transcription and elaborate examination of the list, with the object of identifying the constellations therein contained with figures in classical, Phœnician, and Babylonian mythology. . . . A fruitful field of corroborative evidence and illustration is found in the Greek coins and in Homeric references, all pointing back, as the author holds, to an origin in the primitive civilization in the Euphrates Valley.'—*Scotsman.*

'The author has in previous works established his right to be heard as the exponent of an intelligent theory of the origin of myths, differing on the one hand from the solar theory, mainly associated in this country with the name of Prof. Max Müller, and on the other from the folk-lore theory advocated by Mr. A. Lang. He has also in the view of many good authorities established the intercommunication of myths between the great races of mankind in a way that not long ago was thought impossible. . . . The book is one of extraordinary erudition.'—*Glasgow Herald.*

'We have little but praise for Mr. Brown's latest contribution to the history of science and mythology, or of science in its mythological stage—a "border-land" on which he moves with an ease and assurance which we admire. With Mr. Brown's fundamental contention that a large debt to the Orient is to be recognized in Greek civilization and thought, we have on previous occasions expressed our general agreement. We gladly recognize that in the present volume the author has fortified that contention by a careful argument and a mass of evidence dealing with the *origines* of Greek astronomical myth and science. Mr. Brown makes out a strong case for recognizing Babylon as the ultimate source of much that has passed for original Greek observation, speculation, and construction.'—*Manchester Guardian.*

'Mr. Brown has devoted himself to this and kindred subjects for years, and in the work, the first volume of which is before us, the ripest fruits of his years of study will be presented. An enthusiastic student of Greek literature, deeply imbued with Semitic learning, the author has endeavoured to show in his various works the Semitic influence in Greek mythology and life. His services in this field commend him to the regard of a wide circle of scholars. The book before us increases their debt to him. . . . The chapter on Babylonian astronomy makes good use of both Greek and cuneiform sources, and gives excellent promise for the rest of the work, which Semitic scholars will await with interest.'—*The American Journal of Theology.*

'The value of the work consists not only in the amount of material brought together, but also in the suggestive remarks that it contains concerning the origin of the constellations, and also the etymology of many an obscure and doubtful name. The wide reading of the author is at once evident. He has dived not only into the ancient Greek works on the subject—in itself no light task—but has also studied what Indian and Arabian works have to say. The inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia have likewise provided him with many a comparison, and the coins of the ancient world have given him many a type. . . . The book is full of suggestions on the Babylonian side as well as on every other. One great merit is that the references are generally given in full.'—Mr. T. G. PINCHES in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS. VOL. II.

'In a second volume Mr. Brown continues, and for the time completes, his learned and ingenious researches into the origin of the primitive constellation forms of the Babylonian and Greek astronomers. In his first volume he showed grounds for his belief that the science of astronomy had its origin in Euphratean countries, and that the constellation figures of the Greeks were borrowed through the Phoenicians and the peoples of Asia Minor from the Babylonians. He proceeds, in this instalment of his inquiry, to trace back, by illustrative instances, the employment of the constellation-figures in the Euphrates Valley to a remote period, and to explain the mental process pursuant to which these familiar forms first came into existence.'—*Scotsman.*

'The general conclusion is that it was by the star-gazers in Babylonia that the greater part of the ancient constellations were formed; the system there constructed was adopted in Western Asia and carried by the Phoenicians into Greece, the main foundations of the science having been laid in the country of the Two Rivers before Greek civilization began.'—*Notes and Queries.*

'It is a book of prodigious learning and labour, and must have cost no end of time and thought. You will go down to posterity as the founder of the modern scientific examination of Euphratean astronomy. . . . Full of new and important facts. . . . In fact it is indispensable.'—Rev. Prof. A. H. SAYCE.

'This second volume is as full of knowledge and freshness of idea as the first.'—*The Bookman.*

'This book, being a great scholar's patient pioneerings, is to those who are interested in constellations simply fascinating. They have been waiting for this volume, the first having only whetted an appetite.'—*Expository Times.*

'The author's object is to show that the knowledge the Greeks possessed of the constellation-figures and asterisms was drawn from an older scientific race, who inhabited the Euphrates Valley. Apart from the extreme probability that such knowledge was derived from external sources, the discovery of astronomical tablets during recent excavations at Sippar has given additional support to the suggestion that the Greeks have handed on the Babylonian tradition in a tolerably unbroken series, and that the main features of the celestial divisions which are still found useful in astronomical science had their origin with a race who were established before the Homeric poems took a definite shape.'—*Liverpool Post.*

'The second volume adds much to our knowledge of the subject, and bears evidence of careful and painstaking research.'—*Westminster Review.*

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